

CONFIDENTIAL

# THE AMERICAN

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## SALUTATORY.

SOME seventeen years ago, Mr. Richard Cobden had a very warm discussion with Mr. Delane, of *The Times*, in the course of which he expressed his own conviction that newspapers would approach the ideal of excellence just in so far as they abstained from comment and confined themselves to the work of reporting the news. This, like some other of Mr. Cobden's vaticinations, has not been confirmed by subsequent events. While we have a few reportorial newspapers, as they might be called, whose chief merit is in the freshness of their intelligence, and upon whose editorials no stress is laid, there has been, on the other hand, a decided increase in the importance of editorial writing, and a growing demand for such explanations of current events, as shall bring home their true significance to the reader. Partly, this grows out of the immense use made of the electric telegraph by the modern newspaper, in connection with the meagreness of most of the intelligence it conveys. It requires, for instance, a whole education to grasp the full sense of the terse dispatches which reach us every morning from Europe. Partly, it arises from the greater complexity of politics, in this industrial and democratic age, when only the most constant observation, and the use of every auxiliary means, will enable the observer to follow the course of events with intelligence. The leader writer, instead of losing, is gaining in importance with every decade.

For the same reason there has arisen a demand in nearly all civilized countries for weekly newspapers of a class in which comment is clearly recognized as the most important element, and whose writers may be supposed to have leisure for a broader and more careful study of current events than is generally, if ever, possible to the editor of a daily newspaper. We regard the London *Spectator* as the most eminent example now in existence of this kind of journal. It is a class not without representatives among ourselves; but with the wider diffusion of culture, there will, no doubt, be a great increase of its numbers, until each of our great centres of population has such a journal of its own. It is in the conviction that Philadelphia, the second city of the Nation, is now ripe for such a journal, that THE AMERICAN has been started, and this conviction has been strengthened by the invariable and cordial welcome, both public and private, with which our announcement has been received.

It is intended that THE AMERICAN shall have a thoroughly national character. We propose to invite to our columns the best writers our country and other countries have produced, and we desire to secure the discussion of all living questions by those whose special attainments best fit them for their discussion. In the editorial and general management of our paper, however, we shall follow certain definite lines of policy, without excluding from our pages the utterance of opinions with which we are not in complete agreement.

We shall always seek to awaken and to cherish in our readers the warmest attachment to our own country, together with the most earnest desire for the reform of the political and social evils which threaten its welfare. We make no professions of that cosmopolitan magnanimity, which is said to lift a man above the narrow bounds of patriotic feeling. We believe in our own country first of all,—in her greatness, her future, her essential moral soundness, and

her capacity to outgrow or to reform what is wrong in her polity and her character. But we hope that we are too jealous for her welfare ever to call evil good, or darkness light, in her defence, or to shut our eyes to what is wrong in her conduct.

And little as we can lay claim to cosmopolitan feeling, we have even less of that fine, gloomy despondency, which is now held to be a characteristic of the finest culture. We hold, with the ancient moralists, that despondency is a mischievous vice, and that cynicism is a confession of moral blindness. We shall therefore seek always to discover the more hopeful side of every situation, and to put the best construction possible on men's acts. Being but human, we shall not always succeed; and those who differ from us may have reason at times to think us unfair. If so, we are open to their corrections.

Believing that the principle of nationality is a safe guide at home, we shall try to apply it equally in our study of foreign politics. We shall uphold the cause of oppressed nationalities everywhere,—in Ireland, in Poland, in Schleswig, and wherever a people called of God to be a nation are struggling with the yoke imposed by an alien power.

At home we shall advocate the policy of establishing complete national authority, with such changes in our constitutional law as shall enable the national government to extend to every American citizen the protection which every other nation extends to its citizens. We shall seek to promote rather than retard that great process which has been going on since the Government was formed, by which colonial restrictions on its authority have been removed, and the national authority consolidated.

On the same principle we shall defend the policy sanctioned by nearly all the greatest American statesmen, of creating on our own soil that balance and diversification of our industries, which will give us the largest amount of industrial independence, and will furnish the largest and most remunerative employment to the working classes.

On purely political questions, we shall act in general with the Republican party. We make no profession of that frosty independence which sits apart,

Holding no form of creed  
But contemplating all—

and still less of the sham independence that serves a party while professing impartiality. But, while Republicans, we shall never "belong to" the party, nor hesitate to criticize its faults and shortcomings.

A GREAT spirit of unease and unrest is everywhere visible on the continent of Europe. There is that constant expectation of war, which is among the most potent causes of war. The resignation of M. de Freycinet in France was associated with this. His Montauban speech was taken to indicate that he was not on the alert, and would pursue a more passive policy than M. Gambetta thought desirable for the good of the Republic. The man who stands at the helm in France, it is believed, must be on the watch for the opportunity which will come sooner or later. Sedan is to be avenged; Alsace and Lorraine recovered. The desire for these things has become a master passion in a people which allows nothing to stand

in the way of such passions. And some of the keenest observers of the political weather believe that the time is coming for its indulgence—that the Eastern question will not be settled without dragging into a great war nearly all the powers of Europe. Should it come, France will not be alone. Germany, we regret to say, has followed that policy of insolence, which the old Greeks declared was the forerunner of disaster. She has enemies on every side but the South. Denmark, with perhaps the other Scandinavian countries to help, would strike for Schleswig. Russia, by liberating the Poles, could unite against her all the Slavonic provinces of the old Prussian kingdom, while France would enter the struggle, not "with a light heart" this time, but with a very stubborn resolve.

It is the knowledge of these things which has turned Central Europe into a camp. Wherever the stranger enters the fatherland, he sees soldiers. The presence of military power and authority is felt as nowhere else in Europe. The German rulers know the disadvantages which result from this. They know that the burden of taxation needed to support it is crushing the industrial energies of the people and preventing the development of the country's resources. They know that their subjects are flying by tens of thousands to a country where there is no military service. But they cannot help themselves. Even Von Moltke, who hates war as Napier hated it, as Sherman and every great soldier hates it, insists that the Empire must be in perpetual readiness for it. The country has too many outstanding accounts to settle to be able to put its army on a peace footing. New provinces are a costly acquisition if they are to be purchased at such an outlay. The fee-simple value of all the territory added to Germany since 1860, would not equal the loss in taxation and military expenditure which they have demanded. If they had been made—as indeed was the case with Holstein and a small part of Schleswig—to secure a German people from an alien rule, the outlay might be justified. But instead of that, they have been but so many attempts to bind unwilling people to an Empire and a rule which they detest.

To the surprise of all Europe, the Sultan has yielded to the pressure exerted by Mr. Goschen, and has yielded Dulcigno to the Montenegrins, who are now in possession. It was not for nothing that Mr. Gladstone forewent the services at home of so able a statesman, and banished him to the mission at Constantinople. The Porte has once more shown itself wax in the hands of an able diplomatist, and has done the bidding of England after offering every resistance. Perhaps the Sultan shares in the impression which Mr. Schuyler says is current at Constantinople and throughout the East, that his predecessor was put out of the way because he was not in harmony with the English minister. The choice between an English emissary and a Moslem fanatic, may have seemed to him to furnish a margin in favor of compliance with English demands. But he only put off the evil day. The future of Eastern Rumelia is a more burning question than any concessions to Czernagora or even to Greece, and one in which the Sultan cannot make concessions. The impression still remains, that, before this time next year, there will be a war between Russia and Turkey for the Slavonification of the Balkan Peninsula.

The Slavonic peoples, in and outside the Balkan Peninsula, form an element in the problem of more practical importance than the European Concert. They mean to fight, and are only waiting for Russia to give the word, and they will not wait for the Greek Kalends to begin. There is a movement all along the line, as far West as Bohemia, as may be seen by the disturbance felt in Vienna over the holding of a National Convention in Prague. It must not be forgotten that Austria-Hungary is in that condition of unstable equilibrium, which comes of political power being vested

in a minority, while the majority feel, unitedly and strongly, as that minority does not. The Slavs under Austrian rule outnumber both the Germans and the Magyars, and, although the dual empire has been constructed to prevent their making their power felt, the time is coming when the devices of statesmen will be found to be inadequate to prevent the Bohemians, Croats, Slovenians, Serbs and Bosnians from feeling and exercising their power. Should Russia, under the lead of Moscow, proclaim a great Slavonic crusade, for the liberation of the Balkan peninsula and its erection into an independent Slavonic kingdom, the green withes with which the statesmen of Vienna and Pesth have bound the good-humored Slavonic giant may snap like threads in the fire.

It is said that Russia cannot go to war, as she is all but bankrupt; she cannot procure the sinews of war. It is quite true that Russian finances are in a condition which would be excessively embarrassing to a more highly civilized and organized state. But we doubt if the want of money and of credit in the world's money-markets will be much in the way of another war on Turkey, which is, financially, in a far worse plight. These autocratic despots have a very simple way of managing their commissariat and other departments. They do not tax; they take. And not until the people have been stripped of resources are the governments likely to want for anything. Now the Turkish people are very nearly reduced to that condition. The principal organ of Young Turkey represents them as in a condition bordering on starvation, and declares that the arrival of summer caused a great access of dysenteric and related diseases, through the excessive eating of fruits, melons and similar articles, in the absence of more solid food. It declares the officials and the army are hardly able to procure the smallest pittance of their pay. In Russia things are very different. There is suffering in some quarters, there is discontent in many; but the resources of the Empire are unexhausted and inexhaustible. From Moscow to the Black Sea all is one great wheat field, and nations could be fed on the waste of the crop, which results from their rude and imperfect ways of harvesting and cleaning it. And there is among the people a religious enthusiasm for war with Turkey, which will put at the government's disposal the whole of the national resources.

THERE seems to be no limit to the absurdities about Ireland, which the cable may bring us, and which our newspapers will repeat as though they were unquestioned truth. The highest point of absurdity, perhaps, was reached in the news that the Land League had formed an alliance with the Fenians or Nationalists, and that Mr. Parnell was laboring for the separation of Ireland from the British crown. And with charming *naïveté*, the author of the despatch confesses that it is only in the North, i. e. among those calm and far-seeing statesmen, the Orangemen of Ulster, that the true significance of the Land movement is appreciated.

That the author of the despatch knows nothing of the real situation of the Irish people, is evident from his lugging into his news the Fenian Society. It is true that there is still a Fenian Society. A few lodges here and there, on both sides of the Atlantic still survive to cherish its memory, but for any practical purpose they are just about as important as our own Society of the Cincinnati. The inherent vices of the Fenian organization were long ago discovered by the Irish Nationalists, and finding that these could not be corrected, they abandoned it. What—if anything—they have substituted for it, is not known, as the Congress of Irish Nationalists, which met in this city this summer, is their only attempt at presenting a united front to the world.

That the Nationalist or Physical Force party among the Irish people at home and abroad, have not abandoned their hope of seeing Ireland independent of English rule, is no secret. They are, in spite of the hostility of the Catholic Church, a large and increas-

ing proportion of the Irish people, and they have behind them a sentiment of hostility to English rule, which permeates all classes of their countrymen. The "Soggarth aroon" may keep Patrick or Terence from joining a lodge, but he cannot keep him from cherishing such memories as will put him squarely on the Nationalists' side, whenever there comes an opportunity to strike for Irish independence.

Towards the Land League the Nationalists give the sort of support they might give to a committee for the relief of the famine. They regard it as an organization which may do some temporary and superficial good, and which cannot but help to deepen the hostility of the people to the English government. But they do not give any sanction to the details either of its programme or of its policy. They do not care to see the political energies of the Irish people exhausted in terrorizing the landlords and those tenants who are complaisant to them. They do not regard the Irish landlords as the real enemies who are to be overcome, nor do they believe that either peasant proprietorship or fixity of tenure would furnish a final and satisfactory solution of the problem of Irish poverty. They want to see Ireland free to do what she will never do until she is free,—to restore Irish industry and work out the problem of Irish nationality on the lines marked out for her by the Providence which made her a nation, and whose purposes will not be frustrated.

The Nationalists criticise the Land League as a huckstering party, which has one programme for the public, and another in private. They charge its leaders with talking loudly of government schemes for the creation of a peasant proprietorship, when they would be content with any such system of fixity of tenure as the Ulster Tenant Right Custom. For themselves they have but one platform for use everywhere. They want absolute independence of the Irish nation, and, as often as opportunity offers, they will fight for that till they get it entire. Anything less than that they regard as certain to lead to new disappointments, and as a curse if it brought contentment. To make the Irish farmer happy under alien rule—to induce him to renounce national feelings and sympathies, by giving him a fixed hold on a piece of land—would, in their view, be inducing him to play the part of Esau. Fortunately, no such miserable solution of Irish troubles is possible. The one thing needed for Irish prosperity is the one thing which Ireland will never get while English rule lasts. It is the creation of a diversified industry on Irish soil. It is English Free Trade which makes sure that the future of Ireland is not with the Land League, but with the Nationalists.

THE troubles in our semi-attached kingdom in the Pacific, seem, according to the latest news, to have entirely subsided. Moreno, a typical adventurer, and cause of the difficulty, had, it appears, gained control of King Kalakaua by that most successful method of ingratiating one's self with a needy monarch, that is by pointing out a royal road to fortune. The simple scheme of this precious financier, was to persuade a million Chinese to immigrate to Hawaii, and that they should then be made to pay a five-dollar head-tax and a two-dollar hospital tax, thus netting the pretty sum of seven million dollars. Kalakaua was infatuated with this scheme and was only brought to his senses by the salutary threat of the restoration of the ex-Queen Emma, which was made by the anti-Chinese element. A few more feints of this kind on the part of King Kalakaua will teach him what is meant by "manifest destiny;" for with men who, if not native born Americans, are Americans by descent and association, and who practically have it in their power to dispose of the island, there can be but one end, and that one which will reduce Kalakaua to the position of a genuine citizen of a republic instead of remaining as he is—a mere stage monarch.

THE Ship Owner's Convention, which met last week, in Boston, adopted a platform as piebald in its proposals as the convention itself was in its personal composition. He must be a peculiar person, indeed, who cannot find something in its resolutions to please him, though we fear most will find much more easily that which will displease them. The convention, or more probably its managers, seem to have made up their minds to occupy all the ground on *both* sides of the fence. To the Free Ship people they concede all that could be wished. They resolve that Congress should throw open our registration to every sort of foreign vessel, new or old, sound or rotten, that any American may choose to enter under the American flag. Any worm-eaten tub, whose English owners wish to get it from under Mr. Plimsoll's severe jurisdiction, is to be naturalized as a Yankee ship. The only reserve is a most inconsistent one: the coasting-trade is to be kept for American-built vessels. On what principle it should be so reserved, if we are to have Free Trade in ships, we really cannot see. Every argument in favor of free registration of ocean vessels, applies equally to the coasting trade. But it was not the business of the convention to discover any principle which should control our national policy. Its purpose clearly was to play and compromise with every sort of principle, so as to construct a platform of plans for increasing our mercantile marine.

The other side of its platform is that the Government shall put a bounty upon American-built ships. This, it was thought, would rally the Protectionists equally with the free ship people. We hope that Protectionists will not be misled into supporting any such absurd combination of inconsistent proposals. To a bounty, or rather a subsidy, we see no sort of objection. It was at one time the avowed policy of the country, forced upon us by its adoption in Europe, and especially by England. Up to 1856 the Collins' line of steamships bid fair to hold the ocean against all comers, and to become the largest line on the sea. But the South were disappointed that the bounty system brought no ocean steamships to their ports. Under the lead of Mr. Jefferson Davis—afterwards known in connection with other plans for reducing our merchant marine—they secured the abolition of the subsidy, and the experiment ended at the very height of its success. The British Treasury crushed the American shipowners, and we gave up the sea to our rival.

But what our country most needs, is not an indiscriminate bounty system, or a wholesale system of subsidies, such as England long maintained, and France is about to put into operation. If we are to continue a Protectionist policy, we should so extend that policy as to include a discriminating duty on foreign shipping entering our ports. Under any policy, we might very well make some government provision for the establishment of direct communication by steam with the leading ports of our continent. The latter would involve a direct outlay of government money, but it would be more than returned to the nation in securing a market for our manufacturers, and even for some of our agricultural products, among the people of South America.

That it does not pay at present to build ships in America for the European trade, Mr. Roach confessed to the Convention, and some of our contemporaries repeat the admission with glee. A writer in the Boston *Advertiser* raises the pertinent question whether any sort of shipping property is remunerative at present? He, himself, inherited a considerable lump of this property a few years ago, but finds himself not a whit the richer for its possession.

WHEN Mr. Bayard addressed the Republicans of New York on the issues of the campaign, they found reason to complain of its oratory, in that "like the snow, it beautified *but hid* whatever it fell upon." Those who wished to retain their respect for Mr. Bayard, while opposing his party and rejecting its principles, were especially

aggrieved by his declaration, that the payment of Southern claims is forbidden by the Fourteenth Amendment—which is not the case—and by his unfair representation of the attitude of his own party toward Resumption.

We, of Philadelphia, have not to complain of any marked want of candor in Mr. Bayard. On the contrary, we have to thank him for the candid warning he gave us. He took no pains to conceal his conviction that Free Trade is the one policy for America, that Protectionists are the advocates of absurd and burdensome monopolies, and that whatever the ruin inflicted upon our city, and whatever the misery brought upon its workpeople—our Protective legislation is to blame.

Next to the business men's meeting of a week previous, we know of no stronger argument than this that could be addressed to Philadelphia, that she should vote as one man for the Republican party and its candidates. Mr. Bayard is no ordinary Democratic politician. He is probably the best representative of the whole party, of its convictions and its prejudices. He is at once Northern and Southern. Except in his consistent loyalty to Hard Money, he in no way departs from the general faith of his party, while in practice he has shown more than their average desire to deal fairly with his antagonists. It is this man who comes into our midst to tell us that the election of Gen. Hancock will multiply for us tenfold the disasters of 1847-50, and that we are a set of selfish monopolists who deserve no consideration at his own hands and those of his friends.

Mr. Bayard, of course, made a good deal of the provisions of the present tariff, which were either unwise imposed, or have become oppressive and absurd through lapse of time and change of circumstances. Neither he nor any other Free Trader has any right to make any such use of these features of the Tariff. It was and is the earnest desire of the Protectionists that the Tariff should be subjected to a careful and impartial revision, and that whatever duties are not required by the condition of our industries should be removed. For that reason they gave a hearty approval to Mr. Eaton's Tariff Revision Bill, and used their utmost influence to secure its passage through the House as well as the Senate. But the Free Trade party everywhere scoffed at the Bill as a pretence to secure delay, and the Democratic majority in the House could not be got to take enough interest in it to secure its passage. That there is no immediate prospect of the correction of the errors and anomalies of the present Tariff, is due to Mr. Bayard's friends, and the public will hold them responsible.

CLOSE upon the adjournment of the Presbyterians in Philadelphia, comes the triennial session of the Episcopal General Convention in New York. Both these Churches are alike in this respect among others, that they *weigh* much more than they *count* in the great chaos of American denominationalism. This is even more true of the Episcopal Church than of the other, for while it numbers not half so many persons in its communion, it certainly possesses much more than half the importance. Partly, this is owing to the fact that the large bodies of its membership are to be found in the great cities, in several of which it has managed to retain something of its colonial prestige, as the Church of the original English settlers. But partly, also, it is due to the class of accessions it has received of late years, although it has grown but little through the immigration of the members of the sister Churches in England and Ireland.

During the first fifty years of our history as a nation, this church lost ground, but during the fifty years which have followed the great awakening of church feeling at Oxford, it has grown at such a rate as promises to compensate for all its losses. This fact has some lessons, which may be taken to heart by all denominations of American Christians.

The first is that a church can hold its own while asserting with emphasis its own historical peculiarities and standing by its

own colors. For many years past, every change made in the legislation of the Episcopal Church, has been in the direction of denominational emphasis, and the body of that legislation is quite another thing to-day from what it was in Bishop White's time. Whatever be thought of the merits of these changes, they show that a church which means to be itself, and to be faithful to its own history, can gain upon those which prefer to be everything in general and nothing in particular. The dominant tendency in American churches is in a different direction. It is towards a sort of intellectual and ecclesiastical flabbiness, whose final outcome would be a sort of Irish stew—"neither fish, flesh, fowl nor good salt-herring," but an indiscriminate mixture of everything. This tendency is represented by Union Conventions, Young Men's Christian Associations, Evangelical Alliances, and the like.

The second lesson is that the Church can grow without the use of any of those factitious agencies for promoting its growth, upon which American churches too often rely. The revival system has no place in the Episcopal Church. We do not say that these times of temporary excitement have been without their use in the religious history of the country. With the great revival which culminated in 1819, began the reaction against that dominant tendency to unbelief, which had lasted since the Revolution. But that church is happy which can dispense with them, and which can then escape the great danger of that reaction to deadness and formality which generally follows them. In the Episcopal Church, that method of growth by Christian nurture, which was once common to all churches of the Reformation, is preserved in its integrity. The children begin their Christian life in the family circle, instead of waiting for the flood-tide of a revival excitement to bring them into the Church. This fact makes her the Church into whose communion persons of fastidious taste naturally drift, as they avoid instinctively the tension and the excitement of special efforts, and lay but little stress on that conscious conversion, which is elsewhere regarded as a *sine qua non*.

A third lesson is, that a church which has room for a difference of views within its own fold, has a better chance of growth than those which insist on a dead level of uniformity. The Episcopal Church is, of all the closely organized churches which hold to the historical creeds, the roomiest. The three great parties have come to agree that, within certain easily recognizable limits, there shall be mutual toleration of theological differences. It is well understood that each party must make what headway it can by virtue of its own merits, and must dispense with ecclesiastical thunderbolts against the others. Many of the names which represent progressive Christian thought to this generation,—the names of Robertson and Maurice, Arnold and Stanley, Kingsley and Brooks,—are names of the Anglican communion, and are themselves a pledge of the generous policy which finds room for marked differences of opinion within the same Church.

We would not be understood to say that these are the only features of the Church which attract outsiders to her communion, nor even that all her attractions are of an equally noble and admirable character. Some have gravitated to it as the fashionable place of worship,—a place it holds in some, but by no means in all, parts of the country. Some are born with an innate liking for those harmless features which are broadly classed as "man millinery." Some like it as the church which "gives a fellow the least bother," as it makes the least pretense at any discipline of its lay-members, lays down the fewest rules of conduct for their guidance, and puts the fewest obstacles in the way of certain amusements and indulgences, which are generally regarded as worldly and mischievous to Christian character. Others prefer a church which assumes a sort of corporate responsibility for its whole membership, without pressing what is called "personal religion" too closely upon them individually. With this, as with every successful church, there are multi-

tudes of motives which draw men to its communion; but we have been anxious chiefly to lay emphasis upon those from which other bodies of Christians may learn a lesson.

THE Convention, which is the fourteenth held in the last forty years, has not, as yet, reached the serious business of the session. There are not, in fact, many measures of extreme importance expected to come before it, and none, perhaps, that awakens a greater degree of interest than the proposed division of the Church into provinces. For some years past, an opinion seems to have been growing in the minds of the prelates who compose the House of Bishops, that the General Convention was an unwieldy body, whose unwieldiness prevented the attainment of the supreme object of its meeting, legislation. It was affirmed that at the present rate of increase the Convention would soon, not only be unable to intelligently legislate, but would be too large to secure a house to hold it, and would come, in the words of the Bishop of Springfield, "to be regarded as the plague of the locusts." This feeling as to the future of the General Convention is hardly so strong among the clerical and lay deputies. Nor is it easy to see wherein the mere numerical growth of the Convention, for a quarter century to come, need cause any uneasiness touching the ability of the Convention to legislate, and with all the ease so instinctive in any body of American men. If all the delegates to the present Convention are in their seats, they number only 384. The General Methodist Conference numbers 399; the General Assembly of the Presbyterians, 584; the House of Commons, about 600; and the lower Chamber of the French Assembly, about double that number.

We should hardly imagine, therefore, that the majority of the Convention will look with favor upon the suggested change, which it is rumored will be proposed in the report of the Committee on this subject, appointed at the last session of the Convention, held in Boston in 1877.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH is doing good work in his new, and, of course, able monthly—*The Bystander*, published in Toronto. It is devoted exclusively to the description of current events, Canadian and general, and more particularly to antagonizing the Tory party in Canada and promoting a Customs-Union between that Dominion and the United States. In his October number, Mr. Smith points out that there seems to be a growth of friendly feeling going on between the two English-speaking nations which occupy between them the greater part of the North American Continent. Not only does a large emigration take place every year across the border, mainly from North to South, while the author of "Tom Brown," a Briton of the Britons, selects as the site of his English settlement the State of Tennessee, but "international reviews and international boat races are also symbols of the social and intellectual fusion which is going on. Intermarriages are daily becoming more frequent. An English Duke and an English Tory Minister send their sons into mercantile houses in New York. We have just seen the banners of the American mingling with those of the Canadian Odd Fellows in the streets of Toronto; and this is only one example of the organizations of all kinds, social, religious, commercial and intellectual, which ignore the existence of the dividing line." Another, and perhaps a more striking illustration of this tendency to come together, may be found in the fact that the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which has just adjourned, fixed the city of Montreal as the place of its meeting in 1882.

The truth is, nature has destined the North American continent to be the home of an united people, and the dwellers in the Mississippi Valley are no more thrown together, commercially and socially, by the force of its physical configuration, than are the in-

habitants on both sides of the great Lakes, and those of the Valley of the St. Lawrence. An illustration of this manifest destiny may be found in the case of Manitoba, now attracting immigration both from Canada and the United States, and which is also being personally examined, as we write, by Mr. James H. Tuke, of England, in the interest of a wholesale Irish immigration, and at the request of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Ireland. But Manitoba, with its millions of acres suitable for wheat growing, is practically accessible only by way of the United States, and the proposed railroad through an almost impassable wilderness north of Lake Superior, involves frightful and unnecessary waste of money.

As for Canada proper, every business man knows that the day after its annexation, even commercially, to the United States, real estate will rise in value, and it is in vain, in view of such a prospect, that those who fight against manifest destiny, wage their tiny war. Sooner or later their efforts must cease in the face of accomplished fact, and the cause for which they strive be classed among the historical relics of the past.

While the prosperity of Canada would be increased by more intimate commercial relations with the United States, it is also clearly the interest of this country to enlarge the market for its manufactures, and so we wish every success to Professor Smith in his present effort to promote a Zollverein between the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America. That a customs-union would be likely some day to be followed by annexation, as Professor Smith frankly admits, is no objection to it, but simply another reason why American statesmen should try in every way to bring it about.

Silver dollars are flowing out of the United States Treasury faster than the mint is coining them. The demand is largely from the South, and \$841,942 have been distributed during the past week. The sneers of those who say the people do not want the "buzzard" dollars, are, perhaps, a little premature, inasmuch as the moment the Secretary of the Treasury offers facilities for their distribution, an enormous demand for them springs up. The truth is, they are admirably adapted for hoarding, if for nothing else; and, unfortunately, the collapse of the Freedman's Bank has taught the negro to bury his talent in the ground rather than give it to the exchangers. It must be confessed, that, although a silver dollar will not bring a hundred cents in gold in London, it is not without its good qualities in Natchitoches. It is, in the first place, like the greenback, a legal tender; it can neither hide itself in a crack, like a gold dollar, nor burn up, like a paper one; and while its fellow cannot be dug out of the Comstock mine without a dollar's worth of labor, it can never lose all value between two nights, as the confederate money did at Appomattox. While these are probably some of the reasons which commend the "dollar of the daddies" to the favorable consideration of the toiler in places where there are no savings banks, or where there is a well-founded distrust of those which do exist, there are a few old men in Philadelphia who remember the shin-plasters of 1837, and who are comforted by the reflection that in case of an adverse balance of trade the silver dollar will not leave the country. It is not improbable, however, that before this adverse balance is declared, the inequality in value between the gold and silver dollar shall be redressed by natural causes. In the meanwhile, it is certainly a curious coincidence that the hard times began with the demonetization of silver in Germany and the United States, and the revival of trade with its recoinage here; and it would be still more curious if the law requiring at least two millions a month to be coined, should turn out, in spite of the knowing ones, to be the most statesmanlike Act ever passed by the Congress of the United States.

## THE OCTOBER STATES.

OHIO AND INDIANA have declared their lack of faith in the fair promises of the Democratic party, even with such a man as Hancock as its candidate, and they have indicated their willingness to confide the administration of Federal government once more to the party which, despite its mistakes, has a record which guarantees peace, prosperity, and the preservation of the public credit. Judged simply by the result, this issue of the October elections is in every way a matter of satisfaction. It reminds us that in the order of Providence there is a retribution even in the political world for wrongs against the conscience of the country. The Democratic party is solemnly held to account for the false doctrines that it has taught, and for the woes that it has wrought, and it is admonished again that, not having brought forth fruits meet for repentance, it must wait still longer before it may be entrusted with the control of the Government it has sought to destroy; and also that the people are not prepared either to see the finances of the country at the mercy of those who have preached and practiced repudiation, or to allow the tariff to be tinkered by those who have nothing in common with the great industrial interests of the country. As between parties, Ohio and Indiana prefer the Republican to the Democratic; as between candidates, they lean to Garfield, the experienced and enlightened statesman, rather than to Hancock, the soldier who has yet to master the arm of peace. Not that they love Hancock less, but that they think he can serve his country better in his own sphere. The times demand a statesman in the White House, thus speak these Western States, foreshadowing the verdict of the Nation in November.

THE result, we believe, is one which has been obtained honestly. There has been a vast amount of loose talk in Democratic and Pseudo-Independent papers about the wrongful expenditure of Republican money in Indiana. But, as we happen to know on the best authority, this cannot have been true, for the money was not forthcoming for any such purpose. The Republican campaign in Indiana has been a very costly one as regards the legitimate expenses; not only has the State been flooded with campaign literature and speeches, but it has been picketed by guards to prevent colonization. Dubious visitors from adjacent States and from the great cities, have been spotted and followed. The precautions needed to make sure of an honest vote, and which the amendments of the State Constitution would have made unnecessary if the Supreme Court had not set them aside, have caused a heavy drain on the Republican campaign funds, and at times it looked as though the cruse would run dry. Particular pains was taken as regards the large sums raised in this city, to see that they were not expended for any corrupt purpose, and they were disbursed by a committee which would rather have seen General Hancock in the White House, than Mr. Garfield elected by any means inconsistent with honest dealing.

We do not say that the Democrats bribed, although there are cynical newspapers in the East which make an unblushing avowal of the fact. Take for instance this choice morsel from the *Boston Post* (Dem). "Two hundred Indiana clergymen last Sunday prayed for the success of their favorite candidate, and one Indianapolis saloon keeper, with \$75, went out for an hour and influenced the result more than all the clergymen put together." The *Post* should know what its friends are doing, but we take the liberty of doubting the accuracy of its statement. In truth, we believe that the Democrats have been as ill off for the sinews of war as the Republicans. They got a few handsome subscriptions in the East, though we greatly doubt the statement that Judge Hilton gave them \$100,000; and Mr. English, upon whose wealth they counted, seems to have acted very characteristically with his money. Under personal pressure from Mr. Barnum of the National Committee, *The Herald* tells us, he put down his check for \$10,000; but this, we suspect, was the bound and limit of his generosity.

Some timid Republicans were even afraid of the result in Ohio, and some of Mr. Conkling's admirers would have us believe that the Republicans of that State were asleep, although surrounded by desperate perils, until the coming of the New York senator aroused them to action. We never gave any credence to this loose talk. Mr. Garfield's state was safe, even though Messrs. Grant and Conkling had never made their excellent speeches there, as the large majority, ranging somewhere between fifteen and twenty-five thousand, amply shows.

The hardest of the fight was in Cincinnati, where the Democrats succeeded in reducing the Republican majority, but not in recovering the county. There was an attempt to make some capital out of a charge that Governor Foster had called out the militia, and put the polls in their charge. What the partisan use of such a proceeding would have been, it is hard to see. Surely the State militia is not composed of Republicans, and could not have been used to suppress Democratic votes. The report, although telegraphed over the country by Mr. McLean, of *The Enquirer*, who is generally regarded as an honest and fair-minded man, proves to be quite untrue. Governor Foster had taken no action whatever, and the Mayor of Cincinnati, anticipating a riot, had merely requested the city militia to muster at their armories, in readiness to support the city authorities in maintaining the peace.

In West Virginia the elections show marked gains for the Republicans, but the returns are at present too meagre to indicate any influence on the general result.

In this and the two Western States it is everywhere conceded that the Tariff issue was the decisive one. Five words in the Cincinnati platform have done more for Mr. Garfield than the best speeches of the Republican leaders, not excepting that of Mr. Grant at Warren, which, we believe, has had more influence than any other. The vast business interests of the North were seen to be imperilled by the accession to power of a party which represents, as Senator Conkling well said, little else than the poorest, least developed and least intelligent portion of the country.

## ELECTIONS AND THEIR REFORM.

THE heat of a campaign is a good time to enforce upon the popular attention those objectionable features of our political system which are capable of a simple remedy by public action.

The rapid and periodical recurrence of political excitements is a feature of our public life which impartial observers do not reckon among the advantages of our country. As a source both of direct expense, and of the interruption of business, it inflicts great losses upon the country. This has been felt so decidedly by the business classes, that they would now welcome any change of system, by which our elections should be reduced in number, the intensity of partisan feeling abated, and the number diminished of those who have to be chosen to office by the direct vote of the people. When the Constitution is amended, the presidential term of office probably will be lengthened to ten years.

The tension of excitement is due not only to the legitimate concern felt by persons whose interests would be affected by a change in public policy, but by the anxiety felt by persons already in office to retain their place, and by the desire of office-seekers in the opposite party to secure their expulsion. This evil might be removed by a constitutional provision to the effect that, except in those cases where such a rule could not be applied, the person once appointed shall hold office for life or good behavior. But no such rule or change could well be made in the Civil Service, without effecting a great reduction in the demands now made by our political system upon the time and the attention of the average voter. We may complain of the professional politicians as much as we

please, but they are indispensable in a system which requires so much of citizens in general as ours does. By a necessary division of labor, they attend to an exacting system of public duties for which other people have no time. And to abolish the class by a reform of the Civil Service, without removing the necessity for such a class, would be to expose the country to the dangers of political lethargy and atrophy. Our posterity might find good reason to lament the disappearance of the excitement and enthusiasm which weary and annoy us.

One step toward the removal of the necessity for such a class, would be the reduction of the number of persons to be elected, as well as the extension of their term of office. The Constitution of the United States fixes the number very properly, by requiring the people to elect the two chief executive officers, and the lower branch of the national legislature, while the judiciary and the minor executive officers are appointed by the executive and the legislature acting jointly. This arrangement might very properly be extended to the state and local governments. It would give the body of citizens a better opportunity for the intelligent discharge of their political duties, while it would make the elective offices of greater importance than they now are, and therefore an object of ambition to a higher class of citizens. This plan of securing immunity from political abuses by stripping the executive of power has failed in every sense, but especially in that it is no longer worth while for men of good social position to be Mayor or Governor in many of our states and cities. The election of the State judiciary by the people, although practiced in many states, is not now defended by any thoughtful observer of our political tendencies. Even in our own state it has been mischievous in its influence upon our judges, as enabling the politicians to dictate the selection of persons for important places to which the judges appoint. The constitution of the Board of Education in this city is no honor to the learned gentlemen on the bench who have had the selection of its members; and this, with other abuses, has forced men to ask whether it is wise to leave such appointments to an elective judiciary, however pure and incorruptible its members may be in the discharge of their strictly legal duties.

A higher tone of political ethics is required, to secure a remedy of some other abuses. For instance, the maxim accepted in England, that the new administration succeeds to the engagements and responsibilities created by its predecessors, is not unknown in our own country, but is capable of a much stricter application than is common. The election of a Democratic president at the present time would not, it is true, endanger so much of our recent history as has been embodied in amendments to the Constitution, but nearly everything else would be liable to be called in question. Mr. Blackburn, of Kentucky, the candidate of a large number of his colleagues for the Speakership of the House, made a threat of a wholesale repeal of Republican legislation, and, while his threat excited a just alarm in many quarters, it was not repudiated by his party, as involving any breach of political morals. Hence the dread felt by the whole business community of a change in the Administration at the present time, and hence, also, the sensitiveness of the stock and other markets, as often as signs occurred which seemed to point to the election of Mr. Hancock. In England it is assumed that the results reached after a great popular agitation of any question are, within certain limits, finalities. They are no longer open questions, and the party which attempts to unsettle them is exposed to public reprobation. In America, whatever has not received the sanction of a constitutional enactment is considered as open to discussion and repeal. With us a change of administration amounts to little less than a revolution. With them each party is considered to effect a transition from the policy of its predecessors with as little of a break in the continuity as possible.

The popular intelligence ought to expect and demand a more intellectual and even educational character in our political debates. In this respect we fear there has been a retrogression. Forty years ago, a Presidential campaign was the occasion taken for the thorough and earnest discussion of great public questions before popular audiences. We have spoken with gentlemen who tell us that they attended meetings in those days in order to learn the principles of public policy, and that they have never lost the impressions received at great debates and assemblages of that period. A few of the speeches on either side, during the present campaign, have partaken of this character, but they have been the exceptions. The public audiences seem to prefer a smart epigrammatist, who can raise a laugh at the expense of the other side, and send away his audience full of complacency with their own superior wisdom and patriotism, without having given them any solid reason for entertaining such an estimate of themselves. Hence, also, the rarity of political debates. When the material on each side consists of witticisms, stale personalities and rhetorical allusions to recent history, there could hardly be much profit in bringing two such orators together, to fire off at each other a volley of this sort. What the young people of this generation will carry off from the great public meetings, it is not easy to tell.

It is not, we trust, too much to hope that the time is coming when undignified and impudent personalities will be no longer tolerated by American audiences. We use this description of these objectionable missiles, to distinguish them from the legitimate discussion of a candidate's public record. It is true that the present campaign has been freer than has been common from such impertinences. They reached their maximum in 1872, when poor Mr. Greeley was a candidate for the Presidency, and when either party vied with the other in the effort to be coarsely offensive, with a decided victory for the Republicans. Neither in the last election nor in the present have the candidates furnished so much opportunity for this sort of attack, but there has been no want of disposition to use such opportunity as was presented.

In this connection we may express our regret at the publication of Dr. Fowler's now famous interview with Gen. Grant. There was nothing in it offensive which was not made such by its indiscreet and unauthorized publication, and we think there can be no doubt that if it had been shown to Gen. Grant it would have been well pruned of some personal exuberances. Many of Mr. Grant's admirers cannot sufficiently express their admiration of the interview, and they claim that it has produced a great effect on the public mind. Although never of Mr. Grant's political following, we are sufficiently jealous of his good name to wish that his influence in this campaign had been confined to such utterances as his speech at Warren.

A matter which calls still more loudly for reform through the elevation of public opinion, is the abatement of political lying. It is a characteristic of Teutonic civilization that it has always expected its public men to speak the truth. It does not pardon wilful falsehood as lightly as do the Latin races. But the intensity of party feeling too often makes men pardon what looks like a useful or edifying lie. All partisanship, whether in Church or State, in literature, science or art, tends to run into lying; and the better and soberer elements of every party should set their faces against it, and especially against lies for the benefit of their own party. This evil has long been a source of extensive political corruption in this country, and one which does not promise to abate. The wildest and most absurd charges are launched upon the public during every election. Sometimes merely in the inadvertence of excitement, but in other cases capable of no such explanation or excuse. The newspapers, especially, should spare no pains for the suppression of this practice. It is threatening to injure their credit and destroy their influence with the public.

## THREE PORTRAITS.

## I.—A REFORMER.

With tangled beard and rolling eye,  
He longs for something to defy.  
To-night, in dictatorial state,  
On marriage he will fulminate.  
Next week, with oratoric hand,  
He sweeps Religion from the land.  
But always his devotion hot  
Befriends the workingman's low lot.  
His little drudging, faded wife  
Has clothed and fed him half her life.  
And yet (ah, solve it, ye who can!)  
His heart bleeds for the workingman!

## II.—AN OLD BEAU.

How cracked and poor his laughter rings!  
How dulled his eye, once flashing warm!  
But still a courtly pathos clings  
About his bent and withered form.  
  
To-night, as mirthful music swells,  
With wrinkled cheek and locks of snow,  
He meets the grandsons of the belles  
He smiled on forty years ago!  
  
We watch him here, and half believe  
Our gaze may witness, while he prates,  
Death, like a footman, touch his sleeve,  
And tell him that the carriage waits.

## III.—A GRUMBLER.

For him no statesman thinks aright,  
No painter charms; no poet glows;  
The lily is a shade too white,  
Inadequately red the rose;  
And every scheme by which men live  
Is valueless and tentative.  
  
Such disapproval he reveals  
Of all accepted laws and plans,  
One almost fancies that he feels  
Angry at fate's restricting bans,  
Because he cannot rule alone  
Some private planet of his own!

EDGAR FAWCETT.

## THE RETURN OF THE TRAVELLERS.

THE European travellers are returning with the autumn. Along the Atlantic shore, if our ears were fine enough, we should hear the shrill whistle of their steamers, the panting of their tug-boats, the eager greetings from wharves, the thump of great trunks put on shore, the chink of coin held out towards bland custom-house officials, and—let us hope—the indignant protests of those righteous men. Yes, our returned prodigals are arriving; with bronzed cheeks, with warm hearts, with hands full of parcels, and with barely enough ready money to pay their hackman. In the words of the poet Dobell, greeting the returning Ritters:

"Beautiful, beautiful, beautiful,  
Is the home-coming of the brave-hearted."

For they might have stayed longer. They might have sailed on more blue lakes, climbed more white Alps. Even if their money was all spent, they might have sent home for more, or have borrowed from a consul; they might have done more shopping, have accumulated more articles of worth and Worth. After all, the most remarkable thing about their return is—that they have returned. It is greatly to their credit.

Let us cling to the belief that, on the whole, this vast army of travellers may be said to have represented their country well. There are some who doubt this. One of the most accomplished of our women-authors said once, impressively: "Do you not know that the average travelling American in Europe is a monster?" We have all met that monster, and know him at his worst; yet, after all, the verdict upon the whole collective class must be favorable. That portentous bore whom one learns to avoid as he sits reading his *New York Herald* at Munroe's in Paris, or at the late lamented Bowles' in London, is there precisely because he is a bore; it is for him that the news-room exists, that the *Herald* is taken; that the gentlemanly proprietor submits to being questioned and

buttonholed. The representative bore is not a representative American, he is not even a "live Yankee," he is a mere residuum, a waif, a wreck stranded on the shore of the news-room, while the live Yankees and the representative Americans are travelling day and night, climbing towers, penetrating tunnels, interviewing Bismarck, and hob-nobbing with the Grand Turk.

No one can talk with the parties of young Americans with whom one crosses in the steamer, without being favorably impressed, on the whole, by their good sense and good aims. Some, no doubt, are demoralized in advance, and are like Daudet's dethroned king in Paris, whose first request on arrival was to be driven to the *Jardin Mabille*. Others, doubtless, are absurdly ignorant, like a young student of art who asked the head of the family—a French artist—if he was likely to find anything worthy of his attention at the Louvre? But the great number of young American travellers are, after all, sensible, energetic, and reasonably well-informed; the things they wish to see are, so far as they go, the things which the most cultivated person wishes to see. When you encounter the same young men on their return, their collections of photographs and their annotated guide-books usually show that their time has not been wasted. The same is equally true and sometimes far more true, of the other sex, though there is often a period, after they first awake to the glories of the Bon Marché and the Grands Magasins du Louvre, when the exquisite delights of French shopping at low prices are almost too much for the average American woman.

The simple explanation of the unfavorable comparisons sometimes made between American and European travellers, is to be found in the fact—often pointed out, yet seldom remembered—that the Europeans represent a picked class and the Americans represent everybody. Once when travelling with two English University men in Switzerland, they made severe comments on a rather vulgar and pert American who had been with us in the  *diligences*. "Surely," said one of them, "you would never find an Englishman travelling on the Continent in such a state of ignorance and self-conceit." "Not among Cook's tourists?" "Oh!" he said honestly, "of course I did not include them!" That is, he began by excluding from the comparison three-quarters of his own countrymen, and then coolly demanded that every travelling American should bear comparison with the selected remainder.

No nation monopolizes vulgarity, and all that is fair is to compare class with class, so far as we can. So far as our observation goes, the best bred Americans have better breeding than the corresponding class in England, because they have more grace, tact and *politesse*, without sacrificing the weightier matters of the law; while the very worst American travellers are not so ignorant or distasteful as are large numbers of the English and Scotch tourists who are scattered through Europe by Cook's travelling coupons. We remember two young English mechanics, good honest fellows, who spent several hours time in the cabin of a Rhine steamer, during the most interesting part of the trip, because, as one of them said, "there was nothing worth seeing." When their attention was called to the old castles that crowned every height, one of the young men said that he did not value them a sixpence, that he should like the river just as well without them, and the other assented. It would be scarcely possible to find a young American mechanic, however ignorant, who would make such a remark upon the Rhine; and if it be said that the Englishmen are more familiar than we with old castles, it is to be remembered that an American would be likely to be more familiar with fine rivers, so that the inequality as to standard of criticism would not, after all, be very great; the one would be as likely to be disappointed as the other.

The main difference lies in personal intelligence, alertness and activity of mind; the American has of course a peculiar interest in everything that suggests antiquity, but he has also a feeling for nature beyond that usually found at the same grade of education in European countries. How rarely does one see, in Switzerland or Scotland, a large party of village people ascending a mountain merely for the pleasure of the climb, and to look at the view—a thing very common in our own mountain regions. Those who have climbed Monadnock or Mount Washington for pleasure may seek the Alps without charge of affectation. On the whole, we may welcome our returning army of travellers without feeling that they have, as a class, wasted their time or done us discredit; and it is to be hoped that none of them will turn out like Jonas Hanway, of whom Dr. Johnson said that "he made a reputation by travelling abroad, and then lost it by travelling at home."

## THE POLITICAL TENDENCY OF TO-DAY.

THE complaint is often heard, that the American people are degenerating in intellect: that the last generation delighted in Emerson and Carlyle, but the present is content with the literature of the newspaper, and that the days are past for our Hamiltons and Websters, whose places are now filled by active, pushing politicians, who have only ability in party manipulation to compensate for their want of statesman-like learning and thought. It is true that great changes have

happened, but they have furnished compensation for what they have destroyed, and are simply the necessary effect of our industrial and social evolution. The complexity of our life has, of late, advanced faster than the intellect of the individual. A remarkable spirit of invention, assisting the division of labor, has bestowed great advantages on large undertakings, and industry has advanced on an ever-increasing scale. Centralization has been the universal tendency, while the increased complications of all pursuits have caused men to be specialists, and to have only a superficial idea of branches not their own. The wheels of life run faster than they did a generation ago; the present age demands greater efforts for success than formerly, while the circle of events which must be known is daily increasing. The average individual has, consequently, little time for philosophical reflections, and his life, outside his vocation, is made up of a rapid succession of superficial perceptions. Naturally, then, the tangible and practical are preferred to the ideal—material possessions and comforts are the great desiderata, while the influence of religion and the desire for fame have apparently declined. Our minds are not less able in reflection than were those of the last generation, but, engrossed in this world of material pursuits, we have little leisure or inclination for the pastimes of our fathers.

Keeping pace with the great strides in our industrial life, politics have, as well, become more complicated. Questions in regard to our fiscal policy, or the polity of our government, are yearly assuming grander proportions, as the immense ramifications of industrial and social life, which is so seriously affected by acts of government, are more and more extended. Few men have leisure to enter thoroughly into the great problems of the country, and many consequently prefer, in our congressional news, the spicy details of personal conflicts in debate between our leading politicians, to the prosy discussion of solid measures. In such circumstances men are greatly influenced by the powerful control possessed by large and perfected organizations. A politician, therefore, to succeed to-day must control the organization of his political party, and this requires, in our country, a degree of executive ability and of command over men, of the highest order. Each of our political leaders has spent years in creating a band of personal adherents, devoted to his own interests. Such a creation necessitates an amount of work which would have astounded the early statesmen of our country. Such work must necessarily distract our politicians from deep thought on questions of government, and render them great rulers of men rather than great thinkers. Hamilton and Jefferson were great as legislators, and the political leaders of our time are equally as great; but in the direction of executive ability the former suited the demands of the last century, while the latter are the necessary consequence of the present conditions of our life. Now, any class of statesmen suited to the wants of the age is beneficial, as thereby the development of the people is assisted. If success in politics can be best obtained at any period by objectionable methods, it shows a defect in society which will be eradicated sooner if those methods are adopted. Our politicians possess not the talents of the writers of the *Federalist*, because such talents are not demanded by the people. Our leaders advocate what they consider to be the opinions of their constituents, and the average common sense of the individual has the fullest experience of the practical working of his political tenets. If his superficial knowledge of political questions causes him to be in error, and to be satisfied with statesmen of too low a mental order, the evil results of those mistakes are the only means of improvement. It must be remembered that we are, at present, in a transitional state; the recent spirit of mechanical improvement is at present, for the first time, fairly opening for us the vast field of our material resources, and we are plunged deep in the rush of material development. In such a state the control of our politics by vast organizations is natural, and consequently beneficial. But this condition of affairs is not permanent; wealth will give leisure for political investigation, while the very abuses of organizations will diminish their influence to its proper dimensions. A change has already appeared during the last four years; there is less partisan feeling among voters, than existed at the last presidential election, and party managers are complaining of the difficulty of compelling those in the ranks to vote for objectionable candidates.

The system of organizations, however, in politics does not necessarily include the "machine." The removal from politics of that power by civil service reform would eliminate one corrupting influence in our political arena, but it would give even freer scope to the power of private wealth and private organizations. The latter is the result of the fact that combined personal influence on a large scale, working in harmony under one head, is better than solid argument for controlling many of our voters. This system has no necessary connection with the "machine," as England and Germany, where the civil service is removed from partisan control, are fast adopting American methods in politics.

The character of our legislators must for a time depend somewhat on accident. The present essential requirements are that they shall possess ability in party control with perhaps a certain brilliancy on the platform. But these qualities are seldom possessed by great political thinkers, who generally prefer the quiet of the closet to the rush of political life. The possession then of great intellectual depth by our statesmen must

depend for some years on the rare and accidental union of extraordinary power of thought and remarkable personal power over men.

Complaints are now common against the morality of our leading politicians, and the remark is often heard in some circles, that our best men do not enter politics. True, our ablest students have little connection with active politics as they seldom possess the requisite qualities for political success. Most of our ambitious men try for political honors, and only those succeed who possess in the highest degree, ability in influencing and controlling their fellow men. A division of labor has therefore resulted; our statesmen are active men of the world, while most of our deep thought on broad questions of government is found in the closet of the student. As to the morality of our public men, it is as high if not higher than could be expected from the great temptations to which they are subjected. In such rushing times as the present, people are careless about small deviations from what is honorable in our public affairs, and the magnitude of the interests involved and their remoteness from popular supervision subject our public men to extraordinary temptations. Again, the present is not the age of humanitarianism in politics. The long apprenticeship of party manipulation which political career involves, deters the philanthropist long before he has risen to eminence; he prefers to save the country by writing essays or by some more congenial method than by laboring to form an organization. In times of national danger, it is true, our patriots come to the front; but when the danger is over their efforts relax, and it is the patient, persistent worker who, with the spur of self-interest or selfish ambition, ultimately controls our politics. Selfishness in politics as well as in life is omnipresent, and without its assistance no great political advance has been achieved. Our reformers make the error of supposing that humanitarianism by a little effort can remove all that is selfish in our politics. That can only occur when man will work as persistently for his fellow man as for himself. Failing in their endeavors our reformers are inclined to call our political condition hopelessly corrupt, and to retire from the field in disgust. We must be content to advance slowly. Our people are daily becoming better informed and will demand improvements. Self-interest for its own sake will attempt reforms. We must avoid cynicism, and taking our political world as we find it, labor to assist the advance of its best tendencies.

#### TRADE, COMMERCE, AND CROPS,

THE relation held by the United States to foreign countries was, for a long period, one of greater or less dependence. Even if our products were abundant, and our exports large, it was impossible to avoid an excess of imports such as threw the balance of trade against us, and steadily drained the country of its gold. A glance at the official statement of the excess of gold exports over imports, will show that in but one year of the long series from 1850 to 1878, was this outward flow of gold reversed—that year being 1861. During these thirty years, the aggregate excess of coin and bullion sent out of the country, reached the official total of \$1,262,350,000; an enormous sum to be contributed by this people of slender resources to the gathered capital of mercantile Europe. It is only remarkable that, with all the wealth of natural resources existing in the country, and the intense activity of the people, that there were not greater panics, and more severe depressions of business than any that have occurred.

Since 1878—the turning of the fiscal year ending with June, 1878—there has been a fortunate change in the direction of external trade, and a corresponding change in the internal condition of the country. The occasion may, more than to any one thing else, perhaps, be ascribed to the Centennial Exhibition, and to the extension of American enterprise and influence following on that event. But whatever the immediate cause, the progress in that direction made in the past two years has yielded solid and enduring results. It has made us independent where we were before dependent, and has emancipated our foreign commerce from at least one of the conditions of loss and injury previously existing, namely, the necessity to send abroad annually from twenty to eighty millions of dollars in gold and silver coin and bullion. On the contrary, we have had in one of the last two fiscal years, over seventy millions of dollars in gold returned to us, and we have entered on another year of like returns, with nearly half this sum already received.

The state of trade throughout the entire country is everywhere fairly, and in many districts exceptionally active at the present time.

The cotton crop of 1879-80 was the largest known: 5,675,000 bales, and it was disposed of at fair though not excessive prices, bringing an unusual return to the cotton-growing States. The new crop is coming forward rapidly, the receipts at the shipping ports to October 1st, being 456,292 bales, as compared with 356,837 bales last year, and 284,944 bales the year before. The receipts at the Atlantic ports are especially large, causing great activity at Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk. Shipments by steamer are now made direct from these ports to Liverpool and to the Continent, in cargoes of 4,500 bales each. Business is, consequently, unusually active at all these ports, and in the interior communicating with them. At New Orleans business is also good, and

grain exports are much larger than usual, although the growing cotton has been much injured by rains in the country tributary to New Orleans and Galveston, and the crop is thought to be 250,000 bales short in consequence. In Texas the unusual phenomenon of continuously rainy weather through September, was experienced in some parts of the state, but the increased area cultivated will, it is thought, keep the total crop up to the average.

The wheat crop of the Western States has been more decidedly valuable as an export staple than in any former year, the crop of 1879 going out steadily, and although at declining prices from the very high rates of a year ago, yet without interruption, and at prices that paid the producers fairly. The new crop of 1880 is larger than any previous one, but prices are well sustained, and have gained something of the decline that the turn of the season caused, at a time when it was doubtful what the European demand would be. It is now known that, so far from Russia being a competitor with the United States for the continental markets, the loss in Central Russia is serious; and large exportations of wheat from the United States to Russian ports have already been made. Estimates of the total wheat crop in the United States, in 1880, vary from 450,000,000 to 480,000,000 bushels, and of this quantity it is expected that at least 150, and possibly 180,000,000 bushels will be exported to Europe. The crop of the Pacific States is estimated at 60,000,000 bushels, and the surplus for export at 30 to 35,000,000 bushels. The general position of this crop has assured the activity of business all through the West, and railroad building and other improvements have made great progress the current year. The wheat-growing lands of Dakota are being occupied and developed with great rapidity. The export of Indian corn has been equally active and continuous, at an average price of 50 to 55 cents as shipped for export, and there is now little left of the crop of 1879. A large increase in the use of corn as a food-grain, has taken place in Europe, and the surplus of future crops is sure to be taken there.

The Western agricultural interests have been fortunate in all the circumstances connected with the production and marketing of their staples of grain and provisions in every form, and the result is an unprecedented degree of business activity in the western cities. There is also a general disposition to introduce manufactures throughout the West, and since the depression closing with 1877 and 1878, entire success has attended such efforts. Western iron and machinery industries felt less the special effects of last winter's excessive importation of iron than did the like industries in the East.

Manufacturing interests in the Eastern States experienced a period of intense activity from January to May of the present year, which was immediately and largely profitable to most of them, but which was followed by a re-action of an extreme character that has not yet been wholly passed. In cotton and woolen goods very large orders were given for all classes of goods while prices were advancing, but these in many cases were repudiated and cancelled before they could be filled—a great injustice and loss to many manufacturers. The consumption of textile fabrics is now many times as great in products of domestic manufacture as in imported fabrics, reversing the proportions of domestic manufacture to importations of twenty years ago. Of the cotton crop of 1880 it is expected that one-third will be manufactured in the United States, or 1,900,000 bales in a crop of 5,700,000 bales. The proportion was somewhat less in the last year, being 1,750,000 bales manufactured here in a total of 5,756,000 bales grown. The increase of cotton manufacturing machinery is placed at 7 to 10 per cent. In woolens the production of goods has been larger than in any former year, at least 280,000,000 pounds of wool having been consumed in manufactures. Prices, both of wool and woolen fabrics, advanced considerably from December, 1879, to May, 1880, but subsequently declined slowly to figures but little above those of the September previous, and the market for both is at present inactive, although a large hand-to-mouth consumption has steadily gone on. The general report is that the demand for both raw material and manufactured goods has been greater this year than last year, though much disappointment has ensued from the decline in prices. There is no speculative market whatever, and buyers only take what is required for immediate wants. The industries in woolen and mixed fabrics in and near Philadelphia are very large, requiring for consumption about 75,000,000 pounds of new wool yearly, and making nearly \$71,000,000 in value of manufactured goods. In this aggregate, carpets exceed \$20,000,000, woolen and mixed knit goods \$10,000,000, worsted yarns, \$10,000,000; with large values for blankets, cloths and coatings, worsted dress goods, jeans, &c. Wool mixed yarns are made in large quantities for these fabrics, and it is a notable fact that the woolen spinning machinery has been, and continues to be, during the year run over-time in and near the city. The demand for clothing woolens is very heavy in this city, the manufacture of woolen clothing exceeding \$50,000,000 in value yearly.

The Iron market has undergone extraordinary changes within the past few months; the exaggerated prices asked during the last winter and spring invited the importation of immense quantities, nearly 2,000,000 tons in the aggregate, including steel blooms and steel rails; and the result being a falling off of almost half the prices at one time asked for pig iron and old rails. Large quantities of this imported iron yet remain to

obstruct the market, yet the demand for consumption has been larger than in any previous year, and the whole will undoubtedly soon be taken. Quite recently prices have again receded, and the minimum of \$18 per ton for Gray forge or mill iron has been reached, with \$23 to \$25 per ton for Foundry. Bar iron may be quoted at 2½ cts. the lb; Iron rails may be quoted at \$42 to \$45; and steel rails at \$60 to \$63 per ton. These are prices that invite liberal purchases, and favor consumption. Machinery manufacture, railway building and structural iron-work are active, constituting a large demand for every form of iron and steel.

The Export trade in machinery, hardware, tools and implements continues active; a number of locomotives were recently shipped from the Baldwin Works to Australia, and Australian papers report that twenty to twenty-five per cent. of the supplies of hardware and tools now taken by Australia are of American manufacture. The weigh-bridges for the Government railways in Victoria are furnished by a well-known American house. This export trade in manufactures of steel and iron is only very imperfectly reported in the official reports, but it is of great value to the country, and largely influences the exchanges.

A notable condition of trade and commerce now, as compared with previous years, is the short credits given, and the absence of what is usually designated as commercial paper. Most of the transactions between commissaries houses and jobbers, and between jobbers and retailers, are on what is called a cash basis; that is, payment on open account in 30 days. If payments are not made, no more goods can be purchased, and as almost all sales to consumers are also made for cash, it is not difficult to maintain this basis on any one of the purchases of the series. The recent improvement in this respect is very decided, and it marks a striking contrast with not only the practice in former years, but also with the present commercial or trade ussage in England, where credits are often extended twelve months or more.

In the shipping trade for export, cargoes of grain, provisions and petroleum, are now, as a rule, ordered by cable from the other side, purchased in Chicago by telegraph, and freights secured in the same way before any thing is actually moved. Nothing can be more simple or effective than the present methods of handling the vast exportable quantities of merchandise, and the cost of railroad freights for wheat from Chicago to New York is now less than half what it was in 1867, being but 18 cents now, as compared with 45 cents then.

#### THE CAFÉS OF PARIS.

If the cafés of Paris can no longer boast their gastronomic pre-eminence—and we think the claim that our American restaurants of the highest class surpass such house of high repute as the Café Anglais—their wealth of historical associations will long entitle them to the first place in the literature of such resorts. Even as the names of the greatest Englishmen from the days of Shakespeare and Jonson are identified with certain clubs, there is hardly a Frenchman of eminence, mention of whose name does not remind one of some café of which in his days of poverty or prominence he was a habitué. Probably the most famous of these famous houses is the Café Procope, opened by Procope Culotti two centuries ago, just across the way from the Comédie-Française. There coffee was popularized and ices were reproduced; among its earlier clients were Voltaire, Piron, whom his epitaph declared to have been nothing, not even an academician—d'Alembert, Crébillon, and such a host of learned folks that it was called a branch of the Academy. Their portraits with those of Rousseau and Mirabeau still look from the walls, and the tables of Rousseau and Voltaire are shown to the curious. Of its latter-day clients, the most notable has been Gambetta, to whom by the way was thrown the mock-heroic taunt, "The beer of the Café Procope suffocates him!" when he paused overcome with passion in one of his great speeches. Of late Gambetta has "cut" the café, as becomes the actual ruler of France. The Café de la Régence is well-nigh two centuries old, though it only took its present name in 1718. It was at first, under its handsome founder, Mme. Leclerc, a resort for "fast" fashionables, but soon became the meeting-place of the chess-players of Paris. Piron divided with it his allegiance to the Café Procope; so did Rousseau, who, in 1765, created such a sensation by appearing in an Armenian costume that the Lieutenant of Police had to station an armed guard at the door; so did Voltaire, who was a frequent visitor to admire Philidor's chess-playing. Lesage and Diderot described it in their books; the Emperors Paul and Joseph frequented it incog.; Robespierre, Lafayette and De Musset were honored guests, and Bonaparte too was a habitué—more by token he played chess very badly, and insisted in disobeying the rules whenever a departure from them was advantageous. Another famous café was the Café Foy, founded under Louis XVI., and much frequented in 1815 by foreign officers and the Bonapartist sworders who desired to pick quarrels with them. Carle Vernet was a habitué; so was his son Horace, who one night painted a swallow on the ceiling, that became the attraction of the house. When M. Lenoir retired from business, he cut out the panel that had brought him such luck, but his enterprising successor inserted a new one, had a new swallow painted by some unknown artist, and in that sign con-

quered. Paul Delaroche made it his favorite haunt; so did Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, whose custom it was in silence to absorb a fabulous number of punches, and whom a brother officer gravely bore away on his back when they had had their inevitable effect. Innumerable political and military celebrities frequented it—the Aragos, Dupin, Montalivet, Crémieux, Ledru-Rollin, Baron Haussmann, Baroche, and Caviagnac; there too, were to be found the elder Dumas, Frederic Bérat, Mme. Dorval, the actress, and a whole wilderness of literateurs and dramatists. M. Lenoir made several millions of francs out of the Café, which he bequeathed to the poor Paris; his successor netted two millions in a few years; the fourth proprietor failed and the place was sold out and shut up. Another notable house was the Café Pigalle, famed under its name “The Dead Rat.” It was just across the way from La Nouvelle-Athènes, a café much frequented by literary men, and to it flung over Alfred Delvau, furious because of a trifling overcharge, followed by a tail of his friends. The plastering was damp and the paint still wet when they entered, and some one remarking, “Phew! It smells like a dead rat!” The Café Pigalle was baptized immortally. Charles Marchal painted a *rat mort* on the ceiling, which made the fortune of the house. To it thronged the whole Bohemian world; among its patrons Henri Murger, Coppée, Charles Monselet, Catulle Mendès, Edmond de Goncourt, Flaubert, Droz, “Cham,” Grevin, Champfleury. The poet Desnoyers made it his headquarters, and having once—to the surprise of everybody—invited Monselet, to take a glass of beer and paid for the same, dated from that event ever afterwards as his Hegira. Under the Commune the Dead Rat was much frequented by the Reds, who were always partial to it; it has now become the haunt of literateurs and artists, rather than of politicians. In 1871 the Café de la Renaissance obtained an instant of celebrity as the meeting-place of Raoul Rigault and the other Communard leaders; it had always attracted a noisy clientèle of students devoted to tobacco, billiards and absinthe, and was several times raided by the Imperial police. Its proprietor was ruined by the Commune, for his distinguished patrons all demanded credit, which he had to give them or take the chance of being imprisoned or perhaps shot. In its day the Café de Buci was frequented by Theodore de Banville, Delescluze and Jules Vallés: the last named now reigns at the famous Café de Madrid, where Republican journalists most do congregate. Under the Empire, Gambetta, Weiss, Ranc, Delescluze, Naquet (who is heading the agitation for divorce), Raoul Rigault and a hundred others were to be found there; under the Commune its proprietor was ruined by the liberal patronage of the gold-lace-bedizened Generals and Colonels; it has now regained its old popularity, and is noted for the wonderful collection of hats hung up daily on its walls by its multitude of visitors, prosperous and penniless. Louis Blanc’s favorite resort, before the Revolution of 1848, was a little café in the Rue Jean Jacques Rousseau, where, by the way, he was found, when the successful rising against Louis Philippe took place, wringing his hands and declaring that the imprudent act had ruined the Republican cause for ever. The Conservative journalists affected the out of the way Café de Mulhouse, head-quarters also for domino-players. The witty and caustic Aurélien Scholl presided there in state; there, too, were to be found Robert Mitchell, Ganesco, Albert Wolff, Tony Révillon (“Timothée Trimm”), and, at one time, Rochefort and Victor Noir. Noir had almost arranged to join the *Constitutionnel* just before he finally clasped hands with the Radicals and went out to Auteuil to be shot by Pierre Bonaparte. It was Noir to whom Paul de Cassagnac retorted, on being challenged by the boy, “I accept! I have the choice of weapons—I select orthography! You are a dead man!” Charles Joliet, editor of *La Liberté*, was a habitué of the Café de Mulhouse. He was an ardent Chauvinist, and electrified a Prussian custom-house official who asked him, “Have you anything, sir, you wish to declare?” by replying, in a melodramatic manner, “Aye! War!!” When the war of 1870 was declared, Joliet distinguished himself by a fiery challenge to the King of Prussia, concluding, “And now, King William, let us two settle it! With the knife!!” Unhappily, when the city was invested, M. Joliet slipped away, and, on his return, was so mercilessly “chaffed,” that he was fain to forsake the Café de Mulhouse. The Café de Suède, pretty and luxurious, is the favorite haunt of actors and actresses: it familiarly known as the “M’as tu vu?” from the frequency with which the question is heard on all sides, “‘Have you seen me’ in such-and-such a part?” The Café de la Rotonde, in the garden of the Palais Royal, is the rendezvous of all provincial actors who go to Paris in search of engagements. The Café des Variétés and the Café du Gymnase are also much frequented by the acting fraternity; the former is also a centre for Bonapartist politicians. The Café Frontin, formerly a beer-shop, was another political resort after the war of 1870-1, being affected especially by Gambetta, Naquet, Spuller, Ordinaire, Barodet and similar Republicans, but its vogue was only temporary. The Bonapartists at that time assembled at the Café de la Paix, where were to be seen regularly Piétri, Abbatucci, Saint-Paul, Paul de Cassagnac and other eminent partisans of the dethroned dynasty. The Brasserie des Martyrs had, for a while, a wide renown; its proprietor, Dinochaux, made a specialty of offering unlimited credit to young littérateurs and artists whom he regarded as having brilliant futures before them. He lost much money by bad or thankless invest-

ments, but Murger, Monselet, Ponson du Terrail and many other men who attained to distinction in letters and art were protégés who had been fed sumptuously at his table for months, or even years. Dinochaux had an original manner of jogging the memory of a delinquent debtor. “Gentlemen,” he would say, when serving the soup, “at the conclusion of the meal I shall perform a musical selection in honor of one of your number.” When the dessert was placed on the table, the host appeared with his violin, played a selection from the “Carnival of Venice, and remarking, with a profound obesiance, “Played for the entertainment of M. X.,” withdrew. The custom was peculiarly embarrassing when several of the convives were deep in his books. During the siege of Paris, Dinochaux made it a point of honor not to raise his prices, and aided so liberally many of his old customers, that he ruined himself and died broken-hearted. The Café de Choisel is the favorite resort of musicians, as the Café du Helder is of military men; it rejoices in the possession of a head-waiter who is acquainted with every officer in the army of the grade of Major or higher. The Café des Anglais is the leading restaurant of Paris, and has a wonderful cellar of Bordeaux, but Americans complain that it is hot, crowded and noisy. It was founded in 1802, to attract the English tourists who swarmed into Paris after the Peace of Amiens, and would have failed when the war broke out, had not its proprietor set all Paris talking about his *potage Camerani*, costing \$5 a plate, the basis being the livers of forty fat capons, “which,” said the recipe, “must neither be strangled nor killed with effusion of blood.” (N.B. They were killed by electricity.) Good wines and cookery retained the customers thus attracted, and when the allied sovereigns patronized the Café after Waterloo, its fortune was made. Bignon’s, renowned for its mayonnaises and Chateau Yquem, is one of the three great houses for a déjeuner, the other two being Voisin’s and Durand’s. Voisin’s specialties are *filet de sole Voisin* and *filet de bœuf à la Rossini*, and the cellar of Burgundies is unequalled. Durand’s *omelette aux tomates* is another famous dish.

The Maison Dorée continues to be the great supper-house, though it is not a desirable place to which to take ladies. It was founded in 1799 as the Café Hardy, and made its fortune with its broiled kidneys, cooked in the customer’s sight. Philippe’s was a wine shop in 1804; its proprietor bought the business for \$800, and after maddening his rivals by carrying forth demijohns filled with water, all day long, to show that his trade was thriving, took to cooking chops, which were so appreciated that in six years he had an annual business of \$40,000, and with his *sole Normande* challenged the supremacy of the Rocher de Cancale, whose *turbot à la crème* drew a street full of aristocratic carriages, and was the fashionable dish with which to mortify the flesh on Good Friday. It was the favorite resort of bankers and brokers, and latterly famous for its homely dishes, as tripe, and pork and cabbage, but it collapsed suddenly. The Trois Frères Provençaux was another historical café; it languished when its rivals began furnishing its sharp Southern sauces. And the time would fail to tell of the once renowned Café Riche of Peter’s, and Noel’s, and Véfour’s, celebrated for its public dinners; and Brabant’s, which the journalists and dramatists have written into fame; and Tortoni’s, noted for its ices since the days of Napoleon I., and the new Lion d’Or, which this summer sprang into celebrity and success. Nor would it be possible in the confines of this short article to do more than hint at the eccentric folk that have haunted every restaurant in Paris—as to the old gentleman who had an ice mixed with snuff served him at Tortoni’s, lying on the pit of his stomach on the roof of a hackney coach; the customer of the restaurant Bonvallet, who invited a companion by the year and dined and wined him into appoplexy; the gentleman at the Café Riche that had a waiter hold relays of cold saucers to the nape of his neck while he dined, lest he should have an attack of cerebral congestion; the mysterious guest at Philippe’s, who twice a month locked himself in a private room for five hours with forty different kinds of soup and one meringue, or the mighty eater at Brabant’s who ordered a fortnightly dinner for six and ate it with furious imprecations on the false friends who always disappointed him; or the plump, pink and precise old gentleman who always occupied a certain corner at Véfour’s, lived exclusively on sweets and pastry, and when he was young had carried the head of the beautiful Princess Lamballe on a pike!

## LITERATURE.

### TALLEYRAND.

LIKE Machiavelli, Talleyrand has suffered by being misrepresented and misunderstood. His name has become a synonym for tortuousness and treachery, and to that unthinking and overrated individual, the Average Man, he appears—and, doubtless, will perpetually appear—as he did to the writers of *The Anti-Jacobin*, “the lame artificer of frauds and lies.” Yet the judgment, like all extreme judgments, is unjust, for though it can never be claimed for Talleyrand that he was a man of high principle or of the highest genius, to the unprejudiced observer he is revealed as one of the most interesting of historical characters, and one by no means harmful or hideous. He was selfish; he was politic—that is all; for it cannot be said that he betrayed his country to

his own interests, or that he labored to overthrow those whom he professed to serve. He was the keenest of doctors at a diagnosis, and knew first when a cause or a man was dead, and so was ingratiating himself with the heir while others were paying useless homage to the corpse.

The first charge brought against Talleyrand is his betrayal of the church and of his order. People do not reflect that he was not a churchman from choice; he was crippled by an accident and sacrificed to his family, his younger brother being substituted for him in its headship and himself devoted to a profession for which he had no preference—with which he scarcely had patience. Still it is certain that as Agent General of the French clergy, he proved himself alike able and honest, and though his famous "motion on the clergy" has always been represented as a motion to reduce his order to indigence, it was really, considering the difficulties and tendencies of the times, a measure which the clergy would have been wise to accept. But the clergy could not see that its cause was foredoomed, and that its highest wisdom was to accommodate itself to events it could not control, and Talleyrand was denounced as an impious traitor, when in reality he had aimed at saving for the Church all that it could reasonably hope to save from the inevitable wreck, while at the same time securing for himself the credit of standing firmly by a cause not popular, but to be popular. Here, indeed, Talleyrand's talent asserted itself. It requires neither prescience nor courage to discern a defeated cause and rally to a successful one. But to turn one's back upon the losing party while it is yet in power and declare for the winning faction as yet in the cheerless shades of opposition—this is quite another thing, and it is to the honor of Talleyrand that he never ratted vulgarly. Indeed a most competent observer has recorded the fascination and awe with which, during the Hundred Days, he saw Talleyrand array himself irrevocably against the Empire: it was the best of evidence that the Napoleonic cause was dead.

Even as he had been prompt to side with the people against the Court, Talleyrand was prompt to link his fortunes to Bonaparte, in whom he recognized the strong man for the stormy moment. Those who have read Béranger's autobiography will recall the striking passage in which the electric effect of Napoleon's return from Egypt is described. We know now that when Napoleon was setting out for the Orient and painfully pressed for funds, Talleyrand placed 100,000 francs in his hands, and no one will doubt that it was deliberate investment, though Talleyrand always assured the Emperor that he offered him the money simply because of his sympathy with the enthusiastic young soldier, an assurance which a less suspicious person than Napoleon might have been pardoned for doubting.

Under the Empire, Talleyrand's name was necessarily linked with two events of the first importance—the murder of the Duke of Enghien and the invasion of Spain. In neither case do we believe the censure he has earned was deserved. The enemy of all extreme policies and irrevocable acts, he was the last person in the world to favor the execution of the Bourbon prince, and we fancy that the next generation will also acquit Napoleon of direct responsibility, and conclude that the tragedy of Vincennes resulted immediately from M. Réal's drowsiness. As to the Spanish war, it was admittedly needless and dangerous, so that there is strong *prima facie* evidence against Talleyrand's advising it, though he probably might have opposed it more strenuously and successfully. Corrupt Talleyrand was, and double-faced. When the Confederation of the Rhine was being formed, he himself declared that he did not take his pay in snuff-boxes; and Bonaparte could ask openly of one of the Rhenish Princes, "How much did Talleyrand cost you?" It is known that at least once he sold a state secret to the agent of a foreign Power, though he saved his credit when Napoleon discovered the treachery by sending for the ambassador and communicating the secret to him officially, whereupon the envoy, thinking that Talleyrand's frank disclosures were inspired by diabolic craft, promptly recalled his first courier and destroyed his despatches. But he did Napoleon, France and Europe a good turn by his indolence as well as by his objection to vigorous action, and Napoleon never fully recognized this till he had replaced him with M. Maret, who kept couriers in the saddle at his door to post off with the insulting and irritating despatches, which Talleyrand would have delayed for a day and then suppressed or modified. Indeed, Talleyrand could truthfully say of his successor, "I know but one man stupider than M. Maret—and that is the Duke of Bassano."

Under the Restoration, Talleyrand has always seemed to us at his best, since to witty and enjoyable impertinence he united a true perception and an outspoken declaration of the perils of the monarchy. His defence of the principle of the freedom of the press was, we believe, genuine. There are few more charming and cutting *mots* than his reply, when the King asked him if it was true that his little-liked spouse, from whom he had for some time been separated, was in Paris: "Yes, sire; I have to have my own little Hundred Days, too." And worthy to rank with it was the retort, when the King, intent on his disgrace, asked him pointedly: "How far is it from Paris to your country estates?" thus hinting the propriety of self exile. "Your Majesty, it is just fourteen leagues further than it is from Paris to Ghent." To Charles X. he was as wittily severe. "A King who is threatened," said the monarch, "has only two things between which to choose—the throne and the scaffold." "Sire, you forget the post-chaise."

Alexander said that Talleyrand met him in Paris with the Bourbons in one hand and the Bonapartes in the other. There are few episodes more striking than the downfall of the monarchy in 1830. On the third day of the Days of July, Talleyrand gave his secretary a note inscribed: "You may place all confidence in the bearer," and said, "I wish you to take this to Neuilly; give it to Madame Adélaïde (the Duke's sister), and when he has read it burn it, or bring it back to me, and tell her, 'The Duke of Orleans must be here to-morrow and take no other title than that of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, which has been accorded to him. The rest will come.'" The rest did come, and the Duke ascended the throne as Louis Philippe, while Talleyrand, as Minister to England, did more at a critical period when all the elements of war were struggling to get loose, to preserve the peace of Europe than any man of his time.

Of Talleyrand's last days a deal of nonsense has been written. He made his peace with the Church, but it was solely to please his family, and he did not sign his exceedingly guarded declaration till it was certain that he would not recover from his malady. At the same time, there is no reason to believe that he was acting the part of a hypocrite from sheer wantonness, and that in his confession he had deceived, in the words of an epigram of the time,

Heaven, the world, and the devil, too;  
The Archbishop and Dupanloup.

We take it that his phrase was true as well as touching, "I am a battered old umbrella—a few drops more or less showered on me makes little difference." He met death with composure, courage and decency. Louis Blanc, in his "History of Ten Years," tells us that Louis Philippe, entering the sick man's room with Madame Adélaïde, asked: "Do you suffer?" and receiving the reply: "Yes: the pangs of hell!" remarked *sotto voce*, "Already?" The story is neat; it is a pity that a century before M. de Lévis should have attributed it to Bouvard, the physician of Cardinal de Retz.

In this skeptical-sympathetic age, while Talleyrand has been rehabilitated, an attempt has been made to rob him of all credit for his witty sayings: people have even found that he conned all his humor and wisdom from "L'Improvisateur Français." There is no necessity for such a theory. It must be admitted that many of the *mots* attributed to Talleyrand were never uttered by him, but it has been the practice from time immemorial for the manufacturers of witticisms and epigrams to place them under the protection of the reigning *bel esprit*, so as to secure for them sure currency and respect. We know that much is attributed to Talleyrand that he never said, and never would have said; at the same time, we know that he was a man of marked ability, of long experience of the world, of social popularity. We also know that he did not waste himself in discursive discourse. Enshrouded in his great arm-chair, with eyes half closed and a semipernal simper which might indicate deferential agreement, or which might indicate amused contempt, he listened to the conversation of the *salon*, and when every one had contributed to the discussion, summed it up in a few concise and oracular sentences, carefully weighed and deliberately delivered, usually adding to the effect of his utterances by withdrawing from the company so soon as they were made. Every precaution was taken duly to impress an audience predisposed in his favor, but all these tricks would have been in vain if the words spoken had not been weighty and witty.

A convincing test of these conflicting theories will be afforded when Talleyrand's "Memoirs" are given to the world. He died in 1838, having indicated his desire that they should not be published till a term of thirty years had elapsed. As to the character of the "Memoirs," and the cause of their long postponement of publication, the authorities—if "authorities" they can be called, that so contradict each other—are not agreed. It was announced in 1868, that out of deference to the Emperor Napoleon's wishes, the "Memoirs" would not be allowed to see the light till 1890; and in 1872, the Duke of Montmorenci was said to have resisted an application for their publication in view of the imperial request. Another allegation was that the Duke of Valençay declined to publish the manuscript, because several persons mentioned in it, as Thiers and M. de Montalivet, were still alive. A third and more circumstantial story is, that M. de Bacourt, Talleyrand's literary executor, being vested with discretionary power, ordained a postponement till 1888, and it is added that under the second Empire, Berryer, who was custodian of the manuscript, and M. Paul Andral agreed that it would be improper to give them to the world at an earlier date. That M. Andral and M. Chatelain made such a disclosure on the 24th of May, 1868, adding that the manuscript was sealed up and deposited in a place of safety and that there was only one copy of it in existence, is known. But there is reason to believe that representations have been made which will be effectual in removing the prohibition before many months, and that the great trilogy—as we might to call it—of French memoirs of the Napoleonic age will shortly be completed by the publication of M. de Talleyrand's voluminous work. Prince Metternich and Madame de Rémusat are singularly in accord in many of their judgments; it remains to be seen whether the Prince of Benevento will confirm their verdict upon the manners, morals and methods of the first Napoleon. May Count Thibaudeau have been a false prophet when he declared positively that the Talleyrand memoirs would prove to be a mere mass of gossip about women and cookery!

#### HOMICIDE, NORTH AND SOUTH.

ONE of the leading tendencies of American journalism is to form encyclopedists; but the encyclopedist of journalism is not of the school of Diderot. He has no vast library of folios and quartos which he digests with care. His bookcase is a long series of pigeon-holes, his library consists of envelopes by the thousand, filled with clippings from exchanges. When wanted for use these clippings are brought out, and with scissors, paste, and a few lines of running commentary or of smooth generalities, for the sake of joining the gaps, the modern journalistic encyclopedist's work is done. Much of the work in our best daily newspapers is done in this way, and there is no doubt that it has its value. Authority, however, is lacking, for the facts gathered at random may be baseless in reality, distorted by the bias of the paper in which they appeared. In addition, there is no standard of reference by which the facts may be tested, and the critic is at a loss to deny or assert the facts stated, unless he has a larger and more complete series of clippings, on the same subject, which prove the same, or the opposite theories to those of the journalistic encyclopedist. Mr. H. V. Redfield's book, with the title given above, belongs to this class of work. The author is known as one of the best and most impartial of the newspaper "observers" and correspondents, and his book is written with no political bias, but with the aim to make a dispassionate statement of the relative proportions of homicide in different States. In part his book is based on official statis-

tics, and so far may be relied upon for accuracy, but the greater part is based on newspaper cuttings, and the deductions based on such authority are not to be relied upon absolutely, although the weight of evidence is in their favor. In fine, Mr. Redfield's book is an important contribution to the literature of social ethics, but it bears the same relation to a scientific treatise on the subject, that French *Memoires pour Servir* do to philosophical history. But if Mr. Redfield's book is not a solid and absolutely trustworthy contribution to the literature of social science, it is most valuable as an indication of the true state of affairs in the south, and it calls attention, in a striking manner, to a most important subject. His pages furnish a terrible indictment of the lawlessness which prevails in parts of the nation, and they read like a narration of worse than Corsican vendettas or Bulgarian atrocities. In fact, the book fairly reeks with the blood of needlessly sacrificed human beings.

From the nature of the book it is, as noted above, difficult to criticize Mr. Redfield's statistics with reference to their truth; but it is safe to assume that they are in general accurate. At least, whether accurate or not, they cannot be very far out of the way, and at the most moderate estimate they furnish a picture of terrible reality and import. It must be said in passing, that much of Mr. Redfield's book is filled with generalized comparisons, which are used to intensify his statements of fact; but, in general, the omission of these comparisons would not have weakened his book and would have left his facts more startling.

The main purpose that he has is to call attention to the fact that the number of homicides in the Southern States is proportionately greater than in any country on earth the population of which is rated as civilized; and he estimates that the number of homicides in the Southern States since the war reaches the enormous aggregate of at least forty thousand. Continuing through a generation at the same rate, the destruction of life would equal that of a great war.

The writer's statistics are taken mostly from the official reports and newspaper files of several States for the year 1878, and, to throw light on the subject, the following running abstract is made, which is more startling than any commentary could be: In Kentucky, 1878, there were more homicides than in the eight States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota, with an aggregate population of nearly ten millions. In Texas, during the year 1878, there were more homicides than in the ten States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan and Minnesota, with an aggregate population of nearly, if not quite, seventeen millions. In South Carolina, 1878, there were more homicides than in the eight States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Michigan, and Minnesota, with an aggregate population of about six millions.

Mr. Redfield's statistics for Kentucky were collected by him from the files of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, and from his own personal observation. The newspaper, he thinks, omits some ten or fifteen per cent. of the total homicides, but there were noticed in it, in 1878, 219 homicides, and the serious wounding of 217 persons, all growing out of "personal difficulties" and fights of one sort and another. Of the 217 noticed at the time as dangerously wounded, Mr. Redfield takes the moderate percentage of fifteen as likely to have died, and adding it to his 217 actually killed, he makes 251 killed, or 436 actually killed and wounded in Kentucky in the year. But even this number is probably underestimated, for the Louisville police records show 133 arrests for "cutting with intent to kill."

The population of Louisville is about one-twelfth of the whole State, and crimes are less frequent in it by relative proportion than in the rest of the State; and, assuming this proportion to be true, the number of attempts to kill by cutting would be sixteen hundred. But the knife is a less common weapon than the pistol, according to the attainable statistics, and a true record of all of the deaths by stabbing and shooting would, in all probability, show a much larger figure than those obtained from the files of the *Courier-Journal*.

The newspapers often write on the subject, and in one issue of the *Courier-Journal* the editor says: "There were not less than one hundred and fifty people murdered in Kentucky last year. The Lord only knows how many were stabbed and shot without serious injury." In the issue of the *Courier-Journal* referred to, there are accounts of several characteristic Kentucky homicides, which are worth quoting as examples. At a dance in Carter County several persons got into a "difficulty," with the result that Iram Antis shot and killed James Sinley, and Jake Antis shot and seriously wounded William Anderson. Also a reference to the killing and wounding of Ham. Shirly. Also an item from Shelby County stating that Reuben Dennis was taken from his own house at night and shot to death by unknown parties. Also an item from Mount Sterling, giving an account of the stabbing and mortally wounding of James Anderson with a bowie-knife. Mr. Anderson was disembowelled, and afterwards died. In the same affray W. Gay was wounded. Also a reference to the attempted assassination of Deputy-Sheriff Wickle, near Crab Orchard. Total, four killed, two wounded, and one attempted assassination.

The Glasgow, Kentucky, *Times* said, in April, 1878: "We heard from good authority last week that there were two thousand one hundred and ten criminal cases upon the dockets of the counties of this judicial district. In other words, there are enough men charged with breaking the law in the district to very nearly control the election, if they should band together for that purpose." Surely this is enough for Kentucky.

South Carolina falls little behind the States already mentioned. The Charleston *News and Courier* is Mr. Redfield's authority for his facts, and from it he gathers one hundred and fifteen persons killed and eighty-six wounded, and for the two years 1877-8 a total of two hundred and fifty-one homicides. In Massachusetts, in the same time, there were forty homicides, and the population of the latter State is twice that of South

Carolina. Mr. Redfield finds that the murders in South Carolina are not political to any great extent, and that there are the same number of murders under Democratic and Republican rule. The South Carolinians appear ready to kill on the slightest provocation, not a few of the murders being committed in quarrels over "position on the floor at country dances." The proportion of blacks and whites killed is a little surprising. Out of one hundred and thirteen homicides, in 1877, the color of one hundred and nine of the murderers is known. Forty-five whites were killed by whites, and five whites were killed by negroes; thirty-five negroes were killed by negroes, and twenty-four negroes were killed by whites. The negroes outnumber the whites by one-third, yet of the former only twenty-four were killed by the latter, who killed at the same time forty-five of their number. The small number of whites who were killed by blacks is accounted for by the fact that the blacks are promptly punished, while the whites are generally liberated at a small bail, and often go scot free. And were the blacks taken out of the calculation, the percentage of murders to population would be very much larger than it is. Without going so much into detail, Mr. Redfield claims that homicides in Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, and others of the southern States are equal to those of South Carolina, Kentucky and Texas. In contrast with the Southern States, statistics of the north are given. In them a firmer ground for deduction is given, for a more or less complete system of registration obtained, which is unfortunately lacking in the south.

"The annual number of homicides in Pennsylvania is considerably greater than in the adjacent State of New York, outside of that city. A majority of these homicides, however, are in the coal and oil regions of the State and in the counties having very large foreign-born population. On the other hand, there are many Pennsylvania counties where there is not an average of over one homicide in five years. In Potter county, for instance, there is an average of but one in seven or eight years. For a period of over twenty years last past there have been in Potter county but three murders. In the adjacent county of McKean, homicide was equally rare until the oil discoveries and developments, since which time the population has quadrupled, and there has been an average of a homicide annually. In Potter county, at the December (1879) term of court, there were no criminal cases on the docket, no indictments by the grand jury, no prisoners in jail, and no paupers in the poor-house.

"The returns from all the criminal courts in the State show that homicide is more frequent among the foreign-born residents of the anthracite coal regions than among any other class of equal numbers. But since the Mollie Maguire excitement a few years ago, which resulted in the hanging of some eighteen or twenty men convicted of murder, there have been no more Maguire murders. The effect of a wholesome administration of justice when dealing with murderers is seen in the example of Pennsylvania. The number of men executed were actually larger than the number of murders for which these culprits were hanged. In one instance three were hanged for the murder of one man. In another eleven men were sent to the penitentiary for an attempt to kill one.

"The number of felonious homicides in Pennsylvania for the six years ending September 30, 1878, including the operations of the Mollie Maguires, which reached their culmination in 1875, was five hundred and forty-three, an annual average of over ninety and less than ninety-one. Pennsylvania has four millions of population, including, perhaps, three-quarters of a million of foreign-born residents. She has the greatest coal and oil developments on the continent, great and clashing interests, and one city of nearly a million inhabitants. That with all this she keeps the number of murders and manslaughters below an average of one hundred annually is a testimonial to the vigor of her administration of justice. Were murder and manslaughter as frequent in Pennsylvania as in South Carolina, rated by comparative population, the number would be over six hundred annually instead of less than one hundred. Yet there is not the excuse for homicide in South Carolina that there is in Pennsylvania. Her foreign-born population is not one-fiftieth part as great; she has no large cities, and great mining and manufacturing interests, among the population of which the homicides in Pennsylvania so largely arise. But allowing nothing for this, testing it simply by the number of homicides to population, and we find the crime of manslaying in South Carolina seven or eight hundred per cent. more frequent than in Pennsylvania.

In the State of New York, including the city, and with a population of about five millions, the annual average number of murders and manslaughters is from one hundred to one hundred and ten. The average annual number of murders and manslaughters, outside of New York City, is about fifty, among a population of over three and one-half millions. A majority of the interior counties show a rate of homicide not greater than in the counties of New England. Every year there are a dozen or more New York counties without a homicide. It is shown in the mortuary statistics collected with the last State census, that there was not a homicide in the counties of St. Lawrence, Steuben, Seneca, Richmond, Rockland, Saratoga, Albany, Allegany, Putnam, Monroe, Cattaraugus, Lewis, Cortland, Franklin, Fulton, Montgomery, Oneida, Orleans, Essex, Schuyler, and Oswego during the year ending June 1, 1875. The aggregate population of these twenty-one counties is greater than that of some of the Southern States, yet in all of them, for the year covered by the returns, there was not a single homicide. Of course this is exceptional, but every year a dozen or more counties in New York can be found without a homicide. Outside of New York City the number is as few, in proportion to population, as the average in New England.

In New York City the Italian population is comparatively small, yet for the time covered there was an average of one Italian arrested for murder every sixty days. It is the evidence of the prosecuting attorneys and judges, that the Italians with their stilettos have done no little toward increasing the homicide rate in New York. Yet the Italian population in 1870 was but two thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

In Ohio, the records of the coroners' returns for 20 years, show an annual average of 78 homicides. During 1878, however, the year for which Mr. Redfield took his Southern notes, there were 116 homicides; but this was the year of railroad strikes in Ohio, and from that cause, which does not obtain in the South, the average is higher; and of all the murders, one-sixth are committed in Hamilton county, which contains Cincinnati and its large foreign population, and in seven counties of Ohio the rate is one to one hundred thousand.

In Massachusetts the total homicides for the four years ending with 1878, were 87; and outside of Suffolk county, which contains Boston, there were only 39 in four years. The data for Iowa and other Western States, are few, but as nearly as they could be obtained, the yearly homicides averaged for Iowa, between 40 and 50, for Minnesota 16, for Michigan 40. In the East, Maine averages 8 or 9; Vermont less than 2, and in 1869, 1871-2, 1874-5 there were none at all; and Rhode Island 3.

The preceding account is given largely in Mr. Redfield's own words and with the purpose rather of calling attention to the startling facts which his book reveals, than of animadverting upon his style or deductions. His book is not a work of pure literature and needs no comment as such, except to say that it is written in a straightforward manner and with the evident purpose to call attention to an evil rather than to make a sensation. But a sensation his book must inevitably make if it receives the attention that it deserves. Much that he attempts to show could, undoubtedly, be disproved, especially his methods of computing relative percentages; for instance, on the very first page occurs the remarkable statement that homicide, in England, has decreased 1800 per cent., in other words, that is eighteen times less than nothing. But this is not to the point. The truth is that his book makes a showing that there is an absolute disregard of the sacred character of human life in the south, and that this disregard is based on a contempt for laws, which is engendered by the negligent execution of those laws; and also on the extent to which the wearing of concealed weapons is carried. We believe with Mr. Redfield that it is useless to attempt to saddle the responsibility for this upon the "demoralization growing out of the war," for there was the same recklessness of life in the south before the war as now. It cannot be said that it is the result of carpet-bag government, for the last vestiges of these so-called governments have disappeared, and it is well that they have. Political murders there are, no doubt; but politics is the least cause of the wholesale destruction of life, and it can only be explained by the causes already referred to. Three recent instances show the extent to which the custom of wearing concealed weapons is carried. In the House of Representatives, of Louisiana, a pistol dropped from the pocket of the Speaker and exploded; a prominent State official, at Austin, Texas, stepping from his buggy in front of the State-house door, was surprised to hear the report of a pistol at his feet, and feel the breath of the bullet as it whizzed past his ear. The weapon had dropped from his pocket and exploded. Not long ago an ex-governor of Tennessee drew a revolver from his pocket during a public discussion which bade fair to take violent form. When Governors, Speakers, Representatives, and other officials carry and use pistols it is not likely that the people will do otherwise.

#### D R I F T.

GENERAL HANCOCK is authority for the statement that the *World* newspaper of New York has been sold to Mr. Jay Gould. Notwithstanding Mr. Hurlbert's neat retort on the *Sun* for announcing the sale, the fact is not denied. Mr. Gould's hold on the *Tribune* was simply a mortgage, which Mr. Reid has nearly paid up, and the story goes that Gould, wanting an organ, and believing that Hancock will be elected, has bought the *World*. This is General Hancock's story, and after the enthusiastic support he has received from the *World*, it is unkind in him to say that the epithet, "Jay Gould's Organ," is to be transferred to the *World*, if it is not so.

The minor sensation of the hour among the younger literary men in New York is Mr. Freeman's little primer of the Norman Conquest, which is lauded to the skies.

The total receipts of all the Canadian railways for the last week reported, amount to the enormous sum of \$452,690. Sir John Macdonald probably did not report such figures as these to his London Syndicate.

The Italian Chambers will open on the tenth of November, so that the budgets can be discussed before the end of the year. The subject of changes in the electoral laws will be taken up early in January.

Signor Castellani, whose name is as well known here as in Italy, presented the Polish coins of the Starzani collection to the Numismatic Museum in the Capitol at Rome, on the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the downfall of the Pope's temporal power and of Victor Emmanuel's entry into the city. Signor Castellani, in his letter of presentation, said, "This sad souvenir of a noble but unfortunate nation ought to be an example to our Italy, and remind us that a young nation needs much wisdom and political self-abnegation for the preservation of its unity."

Of the forty "Immortals" of the French Academy, only eight attended the last meeting to work on the Dictionary. They finished three words, and the Academy Dictionary has reached *Aspic*.

A large apartment, intended especially for the pontifical editions of all of St. Thomas Aquinas' works, has been arranged in the new hall of the printing office of the Propaganda. It was specially dedicated to this purpose with elaborate ceremonies, presided over by Cardinal Simeoni, and a marble tablet was set up in honor of the occasion.

An elaborate computation of the wheat crop has been made by the Bradstreets, from which it appears that the total crops by sections will be for the Western States 338,067,000 bushels; Southern States, 41,929,000; California and Oregon, 38,000,000; Middle States, 36,595,000; Colorado, Nebraska and Territories, 10,000,000; New England, 1,100,000; a total of 465,691,000. Eliminating the most doubtful elements, it is estimated that the total product of the country will not exceed 455,000,000 bushels; deducting from this the amount of 261,000,000 bushels for home consumption, there will be about 184,000,000 for exportation, or a little less than last year.

Among the articles in the *Art Journal* are Mrs. Haweis's Aesthetics of Dress, a practical description of the art of the silversmith, and two short sketches of Mr. Wordsworth Thompson and of M. Detaille.

—It may not be generally known that Mr. John M. Dagnall, of New York, is one of the great American poets; one who can rank with those justly celebrated authors, the Sweet Singer of Michigan, Mr. Bloodgood, H. Cutter, and their like.

Mr. Dagnall has already appeared as the author, as he says, "of several epic, other lyrical national, and narrative poems." He has now published a "racy, warm, piquant, pithy, lofty, sententious, slashing, quaint, discursive, versatile satire" called "Our American Hash," in 111 pages, illustrated. Mr. Dagnall was obliged to pour forth his soul because "I being a being, one of the vast universe, since my blood has been deprived of one of its essential constituents—beef—feel myself altered, considerably modified, some of my wonted power gone," and he therefore feels that "this outrage to my physical nature deserves my just resentment," and this resentment he gives expression to. It were a pity that a satire with all the qualities which are given to it in glowing adjectives, by Mr. Dagnall, a satire which had its origin in so original a cause as the lack of beef in his blood, should be neglected; especially since the author treats of many most important subjects. It is unfortunate that there is not room enough in these columns to quote all of the good things in Mr. Dagnall's pages, but the following extracts, which show that he is a Democrat and a Free Trader and sound on the copyright question, must suffice. On this last point he quotes a "Pirate", as saying he will not pay copyright:

"For here I can appropriate as mine,  
A foreign author's work of fame and prestige,  
In any branch of the literary line,  
And pay him ne'er a dollar of percentage."

From the sales of his work excellent,  
Which the public with avidity devours  
Wondering at the mind of foreign talent,  
Thus caring not for the talented of ours."

In a poem called "Unistasia's Song of the Ship" he says:

"Yes, notice our ships as they arrive in port  
From their long, long journeys across the sea,  
In their white canvas trim of the foreign sort,  
Known as English duck—English canvas duckee."

"Twas us who forced that ship from a home port away  
Trying to make a profit from protection,  
But in her case, the profit was made to pay  
Others against whose goods we've an objection."

In a "Song of Unistasia" he thus apostrophizes the Republican leaders and officials:

"So to-day, ye great guns of liberty,  
As yet our big spread of earth remains intact,  
Once ye saved it from a split-up rivalry,  
But we've not, as yet, quite mended that big crack."

Its boiler got, with salve conciliate  
To anoint our friends South equitably;  
With arrogant vanity we still them hate,  
Not giving them equal rights amicably."

After these extracts who can deny that Mr. Dagnall is, as an appreciative critic says, "the first and foremost miscellaneous rhythmic poet of the age, if not the world. Now living, he is regarded with wonder; dead, he will be thought of as an enigma, full of mystery, in the Divine art of poetry."

—The American publishers announcements for the season have already been made. Among the most important forthcoming books of the English publishers, are the following: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., "Young Ireland;" a fragment of Irish history of the O'Connell time, by Sir Charles Cowan Duffy; "A History of Modern Europe," in three volumes, by C. A. Fyffe, fellow of University College, Oxford; Sampson, Low & Co., "New Guinea," in two volumes, by L. M. D'Albertis; "The Great Musicians," a series of biographies edited by Franz Hueffler, of the London *Times*, of these Wagner by Mr. Hueffler, and Weber by Sir Julius Benedict will be the first; an *edition de luxe* of Irving's "Little Britain," "Sleepy Hollow," and "Spectre Bridegroom," illustrated, by C. O. Murray; "English Philosophers," a series of critical and exegetical biographies, of which the life of John Stuart Mill, by Miss Helen Taylor, is one; "Parliamentary History of the Irish Land Question" from 1829 to 1869, with remarks on the origin and results, by H. H. O'Brien; Chapman and Hall; "South America," by A. Gallega, the well-known *Times* correspondent; John Morley's "Life of Cobden;" Anthony Trollope's "Life of Cicero," and Dr. Birdwood's "Industrial Arts of India;" Longmans & Co.; Prof. Helmholtz's "Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects;" Blackwood & Sons; "Land of Gilead," by Laurence Oliphant, General Shadwell's "Life of Lord Clyde," and "Philosophical Classics for English Readers," of which the first is "Descartes," by Prof. Mahaffy; Chatto and Windus; "Studies in Song," by Mr. Swinburne; "Songs and Poems from 1819 to 1879," by J. R. Planche, and new novels by James Payn, Julian Hawthorne, and R. E. Francillon, and "Chaucer for Schools," by Mrs. Haweis; Macmillan & Co.; Sir George Dasent's "Life of Mr. Delane," editor of the London *Times*; Nordenskjold's "Voyage of the Vega," a new edition of Mr. "Hamerton's Etching and Etchers," large size, with new preface and chapters, enlarged one-fifth and with 50 etchings and heliogravures, none of which have appeared in the earlier editions; Prof. Blackie's translation of "Faust;" Prof. Geikie's "Text Book of Geology;" "Locke, Wordsworth and Landor," by Prof. Fowler, F. W. H. Myers and Sidney Colvin, in the "English Men of Letters Series;" "Natural Religion," by the author of *Ecce Homo*; Prof. W. K. Clifford's "Mathematical Papers;" Prof. Jevon's "Studies in Deductive Logic," and Mr. J. R. Green's "Selections from Addison," for the Golden Treasury Series.

—The Canadian *Spectator*, a bitter government organ, reprints Mr. Edmund Yates's condemnatory paragraph on the Sir John Macdonald railway scheme, and attempts to slur it over; but its denial of Mr. Yates's statement that the scheme is undertaken at the expense of the Canadian people, by mortgaging the future of Canada to politicians and speculators, is coupled with the admission that Canada herself is unable to build the road, and that the land is comparatively useless unless the road be built. The *Spectator* suggests that the methods of the land grants of the Union Pacific, and other United States roads, should be carefully studied. Even if they are, the result will not be satisfactory, nor will any system of land grant give value to a great part of the land. The very weakness of the *Spectator's* arguments show how hard it is to bolster up this outrageous bargain.

## FINANCE.

NEW YORK, October 14.

It is only when matters of great importance are before the public that political questions are permitted to absorb the attention of business men to the neglect of other matters. The importance, however, of the elections on Tuesday last, in determining the result of the Presidential election in November, and the financial policy of the Government in a great measure, during the next four years, was considered sufficient by business men of all classes—especially those persons directly connected with the financial interests of the country—to overshadow all other claims upon their time. The necessary result was dull markets, the dealings at the stock exchanges being particularly light and uninteresting until the result of the elections in Ohio and Indiana was known, when the market responded with a bound, and prices rose on Wednesday, 2@3%. In a single day the total sales of stocks at the New York Stock Exchange amounted to 549,077 shares, and of railroad bonds the sales on the same day were \$6,179,000, against \$6,565,100, for the week ending last Saturday. Such an impetus to speculation and to a general increase in business, together with such an advance in prices, has not been known to the market since the resumption of specie payments nearly two years ago. The Philadelphia and Boston markets have responded promptly to this movement; and the result of the Western elections has been made the occasion for a great "boom" in the stock markets of the country.

The imports of specie and bullion (nearly all of which has been gold,) from August 2, to last Saturday, amounted to \$32,444,917, and since January 1, to \$37,344,917, while the exports since the first of the year, were \$6,190,914, leaving a surplus of \$31,154,003, nearly all of which has been absorbed by the banks. The imports over exports of bullion for the year to date, are nearly four million dollars less than last year, but over \$26,000,000 greater than for the corresponding period in 1878. Money continues abundant at 2@3% on call, secured by the usual collaterals, and time loans are made at 4@4%.

The exports (exclusive of specie) from the port of New York for the week ending October 12th, amounted to \$8,525,621, against \$9,420,882 for the corresponding week last year, and \$7,064,816 for the same week of 1878; since January 1st, the exports have been \$318,346,472, a gain of \$57,042,683 over the corresponding period of last year, during which the exports did not differ materially from the same time in 1878. The imports, which are made up for the week ending Saturday, were \$8,340,258, which was \$998,600 greater than for the corresponding week last year, while since the first of the year they have been \$380,935,715, against \$248,302,480 for the corresponding portion of last year, and \$223,713,753 for 1878. These figures become particularly interesting when the exports are compared with the imports. From January 1st to October 8th, in 1878, there was an excess of exports over imports amounting to \$37,730,652; last year this excess was reduced to \$3,545,427, and during the current year the imports have exceeded the exports, \$71,124,864.

At the New York Stock Exchange the total sales for the week, ending this evening, amounted to 1,451,302 shares, but of this business 910,075 shares—over 62 per cent.—were bought and sold during the past two days, the reported sales yesterday, alone, being 549,077 shares. It is also undoubtedly true that the actual transactions on Wednesday were materially larger than was reported; it being impossible, in the midst of the excitement, for the reporters to obtain a complete record of the sales. The only stock on the list that is lower than a week ago is Manhattan Railway, which has been weak on the general understanding that the proposed merging of the Metropolitan and New York Companies would not take place. The indications, at present, are that the old lease will be continued, the arbitrators having failed to satisfy the principal holders of the securities of the two leased lines. The present managers of the Metropolitan Company, it is conceded, however, have secured a controlling interest in the stock of the Manhattan Company, and will be able to control the forthcoming election. They will, therefore, be able to control all the elevated lines in operation in the city; the price for which privilege will consist in the payment, promptly, of any losses that may be incurred by the possible failure of the Metropolitan Company to do a profitable business.

Everything else on the stock list is strong and, with very few exceptions, considerably higher, although the closing prices this afternoon are generally 1/2@1 per cent. lower than the highest prices of the week. The history of the week may be briefly told by stating that the market was extremely dull, with a tendency to weakness, until Tuesday, when a foreshadowing of the result of the day's elections gave prices an upward turn. Stock brokers are a shrewd, far-seeing class of men, who are always discounting the future, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that some of the leading operators had much more trustworthy information respecting the probable result of the political contest of the next day, gained by private advices from the battle-field, than was at any time in the hands of the leaders of the two parties. Intense excitement prevailed at the opening of the Stock Exchange yesterday. Everybody being impressed with the idea that the prices would make material advances on the news of the morning, and this impression was correct. With only slight interruptions the improvement continued throughout the day, and handsome gains were made. To-day the market has been less active and more feverish, and although stocks generally sold higher than yesterday, the final dealings, in many cases, are somewhat lower than last evening. The closing prices to-day, as compared with the final sales last Thursday (October 7), show gains ranging from 1/2 to 11 3/4%, the greatest advance being made in Northwest preferred and Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western.

The most active stocks were Erie, of which the sales were 220,474 shares; Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, 197,106 shares; St. Paul, (common), 108,080 shares; Northwest, (common), 90,730 shares; Western Union Telegraph, 76,800 shares; New Jersey Central, 72,310 shares; Lake Shore, 65,042 shares, and Wabash, (preferred), 64,175 shares. The most important advances in prices were made in what are gen-

erally known as the Granger stocks, Northwest, (common), showing an advance from the lowest price of the week of 7%, the highest point reached being 114 1/4, which is also the highest price at which the stock has sold since the celebrated "corner" in November, 1872; the final sale shows a loss of 1 1/2% at 112 3/4. Northwest, (preferred), has never before, in the history of the Company, sold as high as during the current week, the price yesterday touching 135, from which it has since declined to 134; prior to September, 1879, only once since 1869 had this stock sold above par, and the highest quotation it ever reached until July last, was 110 1/2. The advance in the price of the St. Paul stocks is even more striking, neither the common nor the preferred having previously reached the extreme figures at which they sold yesterday and to-day; the common stock sold during the week at 92 1/2, from which it advanced to 98 1/2, and closed at 97 1/4; in April, 1877, this stock sold at 11, and in April, 1879, at 39 3/4. St. Paul, (preferred), advanced from 109 1/2 to 115 1/2, and closed at 114 1/2; until September, 1879, this stock never sold at par, and the highest price reached prior to last July, was 107 1/2.

The coal stocks made handsome gains, notwithstanding the fact is generally conceded that the coal trade is dull, and prices are lower, and that it is almost certain that the companies will again be compelled to suspend mining operations in order to sustain prices. Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, which has recently declared its first dividend in the past four years, has shown a good deal of strength for some time past, and it is currently believed that a combination has been formed among a few prominent operators to advance the price of the stock; the members of these combinations do not, however, buy to hold, but to mark up the price for others to pay; the stock mentioned rose from 89 1/2 to 94 1/2, and closed at 93 3/4, a gain, as compared with a week ago, of 3 1/2%. Delaware and Hudson was dull, selling from 82 1/2 to 86 1/2, and closing 1% lower than the highest price of the week. We hear that a dividend is promised the stockholders of this Company early next year. New Jersey Central has been notably feverish, fluctuating between 72 1/4 and 77 1/4, and closing 2 1/2% higher than last Thursday, at 75 1/4. Reading rose from 29 1/2 to 33, the last sale being made at 32 3/4. Erie has also been particularly strong during the past two days, the price rising to 43, and closing at 42 1/2, a gain for the week of 2 1/2%; the preferred stock rose from 70 to 74 1/2, and closed at 73 1/2. Union Pacific advanced from 87 1/2 to 93, and closed at 91 1/2; Michigan Central from 96 1/2 to 102, closing at 101 1/2; Lake Shore from 108 1/4 to 112 1/8, closing at 111 1/4; Lake Erie and Western from 30 to 34, closing at 32 1/2; Louisville and Nashville from 157 1/2 to 161, closing at 160; Hannibal and St. Joseph common from 37 1/2 to 40 1/2, closing at 39 1/2, and the preferred from 80 1/4 to 84, closing at 83; Canada Southern from 59 1/4 to 64 1/2, closing at 64 1/4, and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy from 136 to 139 1/2, closing at 139 1/4. There was a sudden advance in Indianapolis, Bloomington and Western, the stock rising from 28 to 43 1/2, from which it has since declined to 38 1/2, the reason assigned for the advance being that large purchases were made by inside parties, prior to the announcement of the agreement to consolidate that road with the Cincinnati, Sandusky and Cleveland, and the Columbus, Springfield and Indianapolis Railroads.

For the past two days, Western Union Telegraph stock has sympathized fully with the general market, selling as high as 103 1/2, against 96 1/2 earlier in the week, the closing sale being made at 101 1/2. The annual statement of the Company which has just been published, shows the net profits of the business for the year ended June 30, 1880, to have been \$5,146,639, against \$4,269,778, for the previous year, being a gain of \$876,861, while the dividends paid were increased \$984,972. The surplus of net revenue for the past year over dividends, interest and sinking fund appropriations was \$1,397,846, a decrease of 106,042, as compared with the previous year, while there were unusually large appropriations for construction of new lines and other items. The appropriations for the first item mentioned were \$1,123,584, against only \$138,319 for the preceding year, and the payments on account of sundry telegraph stocks, patents, real estate, &c., were \$643,176, against \$145,134 for the preceding year.

Notwithstanding the great activity in the stock market, the sales of railroad bonds at the Stock Exchange yesterday were the largest recorded in any single day in many months, the reported transactions amounting to \$6,179,000; although less active, there was also a large business done to-day, the sales being \$3,326,100; for several months past, the sales of a single day have seldom equalled \$2,000,000. The largest transactions during the week have been in Erie New Consols, the sales of which yesterday reached the enormous sum of \$3,581,000, while to-day they amounted to \$1,711,000. There have also been large sales of some of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas issues, St. Paul consolidated bonds, and Metropolitan Elevated Firsts. Prices have sympathized with the stock market, Erie new consols advancing during the past three days 3 1/2%; St. Paul consolidated bonds, 1 1/4%; Lehigh and Wilkesbarre firsts, consolidated, 1%; Chesapeake and Ohio firsts, Series B, 1 1/2%; Boston, Hartford and Erie firsts, 3%, and Ohio Central firsts, 1%, while others made smaller gains. A part of the advance, however, was, in most cases, lost to-day. The 4% Government bonds were also very active and strong, the sales yesterday being \$482,500, and to-day \$435,500, during which the price rose from 107 1/2 to 109 1/4 for the registered bonds, and from 107 1/4 to 109 3/4 for the coupon bonds; the 4 1/2 per cents. are up to 110 1/4, a gain of 2%. State bonds and bank stocks have been dull.

The Philadelphia market responded only in part to the improvement in the New York market. The sales yesterday and to-day were large and prices made some improvement, but not the advances recorded here. During the week, Reading rose from 14 1/4 to 16 1/2, at which it closed. Pennsylvania, which was the most active stock on the list, sold a week ago at 58 and yesterday at 59 1/4 and to-day at 60, closing at 59 1/2. Lehigh Valley has risen from 52 1/2 to 53 1/4. Northern Pacific, common, from 27 1/2 to 29 1/4, closing at 29, and the preferred from 52 to 54 1/4, closing at 53 1/4; and Pittsburg, Titusville and Buffalo from 15 1/2 to 17.

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